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Charting Continuation: Understanding Post-Traditional Six Nations Militarism, 1814-1930

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Abstract

Until recently, military historians failed to consider First Nations military participation beyond the settlement of a particular region, including the end War of 1812 in Ontario and Quebec, and the post-Northwest Rebellion era in the Western Provinces. Current historiography of Six Nations military between the end of the War of 1812 and the First World War has also neglected the evolution of First Nations militarism and the voice of First Nations peoples, with most military histories including First Nations participation as contributions to the larger non-First Nations narrative of Canada. By charting the military participation of one First Nation community, namely the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory, it will be shown that a dynamic post-traditional military tradition continued to develop from the end of the War of 1812 to the First World War based on the treaty relationship they developed with the British Crown, family genealogies, and their organized recruitment into state militaries. This study will also show that the Grand River Six Nations not only understood the traditional and post-traditional reasons they fought in various conflicts during the interwar period, but they did so as active agents with clear understandings that their participation was different than the non-Six Nations communities that surrounded them.

Keywords

Haudenosaunee, Six Nations, Iroquois, War of 1812, First World War, World War One, Canada, Indigenous, Military, Militarism

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Chapter 1: Charting the Continuation

On 4 October 1916, a great crowd witnessed the presentation of the colors of the 114th Battalion at Caledonia, Ontario. The flag, commissioned and presented by the Six Nations Patriotic League, was specifically given to "D" Company of the battalion as it was recruited, trained, and stationed in Ohsweken, the main village of the Six Nations Territory at Grand River. Alongside "D" Company, over half of the battalion's recruits were First Nations men from Ontario and Quebec, with some from the Canadian prairies. The women of the Six Nations Patriotic League lobbied Canadian military authorities to create a flag that became a symbol of the traditional alliance held between the Six Nations and the British Crown that displayed both the Six Nations and the British as equals. Showing this traditional understanding of their relationship to the British Crown,

> [t]he colors of the 114th Battalion, like the Iroquois colors, are crimson and black, and…the device of the flag comprises the totems of the Iroquois which are the bear, turtle, wolf, heron, hawk and hare, and for the crest the lion and the dragon backed by the rising sun. The colors are carried out in a crimson flag with the Six Nations seal or coat-of-arms in the centre, a black war shield...encircling the shield is a wreath composed of the oak and the acorn of England, the maple of Canada, and the pine of the Iroquois. The wreath contains the shield which is supported by the hawk and heron and encircled by the words "Six Nations Indians of the 114th Battalion." On the shield is the bear, an emblem common to the tribes of the Six Nations. The bear stands on two pieces of wood, oak and pine, tied tightly together with the silver covenant chain which binds the Iroquois and Anglo-Saxon. The two pieces of wood represent Joseph Brant's name…Beneath this are six arrows typifying the Six Nations. The wreath rests upon a turtle and on either side are the hare and the wolf, supporters of the turtle, all of which are symbolic of the early Iroquois and Algonquin Indians.[1]

With thousands of well-wishers in attendance, this ceremony, marking and solidifying the Six Nations and British war efforts, is still remembered fondly by the local community to this day.[2]

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[1] "Presentation of Colors to the 114th Battn.," *The Brantford Expositor*, 4 October 1916, 11.

[2] "Colors from Indian Women," *Mail and Empire*, Toronto, 13 September 1916 and Barbara Martindale, "Presentation of Colors for Brock's Rangers Celebrated in 1916," *The Sachem*, Caledonia, 24 October 2000, both articles found at the Haldimand County Museum and Archives, Haldimand County Military File.

Despite events like this which reaffirmed Six Nations' traditional understandings of their military culture, most academic histories about the Six Nations during the post-War of 1812 to the end of the First World War period doubt whether ideas Six Nations people had about their military were traditional at all. Leaving little room for nuance or post-traditional ideas, most of these studies split Six Nations military and culture into a dichotomy of traditional and non-traditional. This dissertation explores this period not as a binary, but as a period of dynamic change and layering of Six Nations traditional militarism upon military trends occurring within non-First Nations/broader Canadian society. The people of Six Nations of the Grand River Territory knew their traditional military ideas fit into contemporary circumstances, meaning that from the end of the War of 1812 to the beginning of the First World War in 1914, traditional Six Nations militarism was not dead and, in fact, became manifest during and after the First World War.

1.1 A Question of Culture? Unraveling Understandings of Six Nations Traditional Culture

Until recently, the historical literature on the subject of Six Nations culture has depicted Six Nations as a divided people, who, through the process of colonization at the hands of the British Imperial and Canadian governments, had lost the majority of their traditional understandings of their culture. More recent studies challenge this notion and instead show Six Nations as living their traditional teachings and using them to inform their lives, creating a dynamic, adaptive culture based on a continuity of philosophy and values

For the purposes of this thesis, I use the term Six Nations to refer to Iroquoian people living in the current provinces of Ontario and Quebec and New York State and Wisconsin, including Grand River, the Mohawk communities at Wahta, Tyendinaga (Bay of Quinte), Akwesasne, Kanehsatake, and Kahnawake, the Oneida communities in Wisconsin and on the Thames River outside of London, Ontario, the Seneca communities at Tonawanda, Allegany and Cattaraugus, the Onondaga and Oneida communities outside of Syracuse, New York, and the Seneca and Cayuga communities in Oklahoma. I do not use the anthropological term

Iroquois since that is not how the people of Six Nations have defined themselves. I also do not solely use the term Haudenosaunee. People who identify as Haudenosaunee do so based on their retention of aspects of their culture and heritage including their language and connection to their traditional Confederacy government. The term Six Nations acts as an all-encompassing term that includes all the Iroquoian people from the above mentioned Six Nations communities. While this study also uses examples from many Six Nations communities in North America, the term Six Nations, unless otherwise specified, refers to the Six Nations at Grand River.

I also refuse to define what Six Nations cultural practices are traditional, as I believe that is best left to the community. This thesis uses the term post-traditional to rid this study of the binaries of traditional and non-traditional and allow for the many extensions and expansions of Six Nations culture over time. Although this term can also be used to mean these ideas are "beyond traditional" I use this to denote that these ideas, being based on traditional understandings of their culture, are part of the dynamic ability of Six Nations culture to expand and adapt as needs arise without losing their identities as Six Nations people. As explained by Haudenosaunee scholar Theresa McCarthy, this ability to expand a culture to future challenges allows for a stronger culture and has been used by the settler states of Canada and the United States without the negative binary of what is traditional or non-traditional being applied.[3] McCarthy further states that this non-binary between traditional and non-traditional is also found within the Six Nations language, citing the multi-lingual Chief Jake Thomas who notes that there is no word for factionalism in Six Nations language.[4]

The term post-traditional, similar to that of post-colonial, also creates a space for a discussion about the blurring of periods of time. Although many historians use the term post-colonial to denote the end of the colonial period, others note that the ideas of the colonial and imperial period continue to be imposed on people and nations, meaning that the term post-

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[3] Theresa McCarthy, *In Divided Unity: Haudenosaunee Reclamation at Grand River* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016), 123-124.

[4] McCarthy, 154.

colonial is not the end of the colonial period, but merely an extension of it. The term post-traditional also frees this thesis from using the term evolved or adaptive tradition as these terms also have negative implications for First Nations people. The term adaptive tradition has been used to delineate what traditions and practices have been taken on by a First Nations culture or group that lay outside of their traditional culture, while the term evolved tradition fits within an evolutionary milieu which denotes that without adapting certain aspects of cultural frameworks that lay outside of First Nations culture, First Nations culture would not be considered a progressive or "civilized" culture. Although not a perfect term, the term post-traditional frees this thesis from the traps promoted by these other parallel terms.

In his 1973 thesis, historian Daniel Glenny accurately portrays the state of the Grand River Six Nations at the end of the War of 1812. According to Glenny, the pre-war Six Nations military stood at approximately 300 men. Glenny estimates that by war's end, 30% of these men were estimated to be killed in action with many others being wounded.[5] The men that did return home came back to destroyed farms, fields, and settlements. Neglected by men not being home and vandalized by looters,[6] Six Nations farms, established only 30 years after the Haldimand Proclamation in 1784, would take many years to rebuild.[7] With all surplus food being used during the war, the Grand River Territory slipped into a famine that continued into 1816, causing the population to stagnate until 1824.[8] For many non-Six Nations scholars, this loss of life due to the war and post-war starvation acted as a catalyst for the erosion of Six Nations culture, causing many Six Nations people to turn to non-traditional ways of life to survive these hardships.

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[5] Daniel Glenny, "An Ethnohistory of the Grand River Iroquois and the War of 1812" (MA diss., University of Guelph, 1973), 154.

[6] R. Cuthbertson Muir, *The Early Political and Military History of Burford* (Quebec: La Cie D'Imprimerie Commerciale, 1913), 263. According to Muir, 265, Six Nations and non-Six Nations settlers would have to wait many years for compensation for their war losses, with the last claim being paid out in 1824.

[7] Glenny, 112.

[8] Glenny, 155 and 156. This agricultural stagnation was aided by the volcanic eruption of Mount Tambora in Indonesia in 1815 which caused rippling environmental effects including a year without normal summer temperatures in Canada, limiting the amount of food that could be grown. See Peter McGuigan, "A Year Without Summer," *Canada's History* (10 April 2016). Available at http://www.canadashistory.ca/Explore/Environment/1816-The-Year-Without-Summer?utm_source=Canada%27s+History+Newsletter&utm_campaign=8856638ac5-HRN_Weather_Woes4_17_2016&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_8145df6f6e-8856638ac5-283983170.

In her analysis, anthropologist Elizabeth Tooker wrote that after the 1820s, the Six Nations broke up into ethnic enclaves, with some beginning to actively participate in the surrounding Euro-Canadian culture.[9] This interpretation of Six Nations culture has been used by other scholars, like archaeologist Ian Kenyon, in his investigations of archaeological sites within the Grand River Territory. Through an analysis of ceramic remains, everyday household wares, and animal bone fragments, Kenyon concluded that before the modern reservation period (1847 to present), Six Nations people were developing a social structure marked by class divisions common in Victorian Canada.[10] Kenyon also divides the Six Nations in enclaves of "Up River" nations, consisting of the Mohawk, Upper Cayuga, Oneida, and Tuscarora nations, and "Down River" nations, consisting of the Lower Cayuga, Seneca, and Onondaga nations. According to his analysis, the differences between the "Up River" and "Down River" Nations were the "Up River" nations were willing to participate in the non-traditional Six Nations style agriculture and market economy while the "Down River" nations resisted these Euro-Canadian influences. Through their farming and participation in the market economy, the "Up River" nations were becoming acculturated into the dominant Euro-Canadian culture.[11]

This focus on national "Up River" and "Down River" settlement is questionable. Settlement patterns in the Grand River Territory were not as divided as those portrayed by Kenyon and others. An Onondaga settlement was located close to the "Up River" Mohawk Village site. This site is permanently etched into the geography of modern Brantford through the naming

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[9] Elizabeth Tooker, "Iroquois Since 1820," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15: Northeast, edited by Bruce Trigger (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1987), 463.

[10] Ian Kenyon, "Levi Turkey and the Tuscarora Settlement on the Grand River," *Kewa, Newsletter of the London Chapter, Ontario Archaeological Society* 87, 1 (1987): 20-25; Ian Kenyon, "The Onondaga Settlement at Middleport," *Kewa* 85, 3 (1985): 4-23; Ian Kenyon and Neal Ferris, "Investigations at Mohawk Village, 1983," *Arch Notes* 84, 1 (1984): 19-49; and Kenyon and Thomas Kenyon, "Echo the Firekeeper: A Nineteenth Century Iroquois Site," *Kewa* 86, 2 (1986): 4-27.

[11] According to local historian J.J. Hawkins, "Early Days in Brantford" in *Some of the Papers Read During the Years 1908-1911 at Meetings of the Brant Historical Society* (no publisher, no date), 45, and archaeologist Neal Ferris, "In Their Own Time: Archaeological Histories of First Nations-Lived Contacts and Colonialisms, Southwestern Ontario A.D. 1400-1900" (Ph.D. diss., McMaster University, 2006), 240, this study is further clouded by the fact that by the 1830s, the Mohawk Village site was known to be inhabited by white traders, escaped black slaves, and Six Nations people.

the area Echo Place, after an Onondaga leader.[12] There were various other national/mixed nation settlements throughout the Grand River, like Davisville, a Mohawk, Delaware, and Mississauga settlement,[13] and a large Tutelo village that was located in the modern Tutela Heights area of Brantford.[14] As noted in a 1828 map of the Grand River Territory created by Rev. Robert Lugger, an Anglican missionary to the Six Nations, there were many other mixed national settlements that directly challenge Kenyon's assumptions that Grand River Six Nations culture was polarized by national territories or a binary "Up River" and "Down River" divide.[15] Also missing in this analysis is the discussion of the differences in terrain between the two areas. As noted by Haudenosaunee scholar Susan M. Hill, the acceptance of large scale agriculture by those living in the "Up River" portion of the Grand River Territory was done as the land, made up of rich soil, allowed for this while the land "Down River" was mostly clay.[16]

Further limiting his study, Kenyon based most of his analysis on bone fragments and ceramic shards. Supposing that changes in the Six Nations' physical culture correlates with a change of their metaphysical culture, Kenyon notes that the "Up River" nations used more expensive china patterns and cup and saucer ratios similar to that of the surrounding non-Six Nations society. He also notes, through the remains of animal bones, that the "Up River" nations were becoming more dependent on farming as the majority of animal bones found on "Up River" archaeological sites were those of domestic and not wild animals.

This is problematic in two ways. First, according to Kenyon, ceramic tableware only made up 5% of a household's daily implements in the 1840s.[17] By basing his conclusions on only

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[12] Kenyon and Kenyon, 4-27.

[13] *Written in the Earth*, prod. Carol Bruce, 90 minutes, Silverchord Productions, 2002.

[14] Jean Waldie, *Brant County: The Story of Its People* vol. 1 (Paris, ON: J.R. Hastings Printing and Lithographing, 1984), 66.

[15] Plan of the Grand River, 1828, by the Rev. Robert Lugger in Charles M. Johnston ed., *The Valley of the Six Nations: A Collection of Documents on the Indian Lands of the Grand River* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1964), Figure 2.

[16] Susan Marie Hill, "The Clay We Are Made Of: An Examination of the Haudenosaunee Land Tenure on the Grand River Territory" (Ph.D. diss., Trent University, 2006), 321-322.

[17] Ian Kenyon, "A History of Ceramic Tableware in Ontario, 1780-1840," *Arch Notes* 85, 3 (1985): 41.

5% of a household's daily implements, Kenyon leaves a large portion of Six Nations daily life unexplored. Secondly, Kenyon also found bone fragment and china patterns that countered his ideas while examining the Thomas Echo Hill and Levi Turkey's cabin sites. At the Turkey site, dated from the late 1830s to the late 1840s, Kenyon found that although Turkey was an educated "Up River" Tuscarora, ceramic shards showed that Turkey did not follow the usual pattern of ceramic use demonstrated by other "Up River" Six Nations people.[18]

At the Hill site, also dated from the 1830s to the late 1840s, Kenyon discovered traditional shell and bone items alongside many items purchased from the outside community.[19] Kenyon also found a large amount of domestic rather than wild animal bones, making Hill, a "Down River" Onondaga Chief, tied into the Euro-Canadian economy, while still participating in traditional Six Nations society. Kenyon's conclusions are further challenged by the work of archaeologist Neal Ferris. In his excavation of the Powless Cabin site, known to be occupied from the 1820s to the 1850s, Ferris found that bones from wild game made up the majority bone fragments at the site. He also found that, although people living at the Powless site had adopted European-style clothing, traditional clothing, like beaded objects, shell wampum beads, silver ornaments, and head dresses were found within the site's remains. This, and other remains found on this site counter Kenyon's claims. Due to this site being occupied until the 1850s, this site disrupts Tooker and Kenyon's assimilation timeline as the people at this "Up River" Mohawk site continued to practice their traditional culture.[20] Ferris concludes his study noting that the people of Six Nations accepted some colonial practices

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[18] Kenyon, "Levi Turkey and the Tuscarora Settlement on the Grand River," 23-24. Kenyon's theory further states that since people defined as "Up River" Six Nations were more integrated within the surrounding Euro-Canadian economy, as they had more expensive ceramics with a low cup and saucer ratio while people defined as "Down River" Six Nations were less integrated into the Euro-Canadian economy, therefore having less expensive ceramics with a higher cup and saucer ratio.

[19] Kenyon and Kenyon, 19-20, argues these items would have had to come from a store as they were not on the Department of Indian Affairs gift list.

[20] Ferris, 274 and Neal Ferris, *The Archaeology of First Nations-Lived Colonialism: Challenging History in the Great Lakes* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009), 149.

and rejected others in favour of their own. This interplay between tradition and innovation created a dynamic, but still distinctly Six Nations, culture.[21]

One scholar heavily cited by historians trying to understand the changes of Six Nations culture leading up to the First World War is Sally M. Weaver. When analyzing Six Nations culture from the 1830s and into the post-war years, Weaver's studies focus on acculturation and "progressiveness." Central to her studies are a small minority group within the Grand River Territory known as the Dehorners[22] who wanted an elected band council proposed by the *Indian Act* 1876 instead of the Six Nations Confederacy Council. Weaver's focus on the Dehorner minority,[23] and the sheer volume of her publications about them, however, minimizes the rest of the Six Nations population. By excluding the majority of the population, Weaver's writings give the impression that the Dehorners and their ideology dominated at Grand River.

Weaver also constructs ridged divides between the Dehorners and those who supported the Confederacy Council, suggesting not only a stalemate in Six Nations governance,[24] but also cultural isolation between the two groups. [25] These statements are problematic as the Confederacy Council was an institution in which both Longhouse and Christian followers met, interacted, discussed issues of the day, and publicly reviewed their traditional alliance

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[21] Ferris, 285-286. This sentiment is echoed in R.B. Orr, "The Iroquois of Canada" in the *31st Annual Archaeological Report 1919 Being Part of Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario* (Toronto: A.T. Wigress, 1919), 49, by an old Seneca Chief who said "[o]ur religion is not of houses, or shoes, or of bark lodges, or moccasins, or feathers; it is a thing in my heart."

[22] The name Dehorner derives from the act of removing the horned headdresses that denote leadership within the Six Nations Confederacy Council.

[23] To Weaver, Dehorners were Christianized "Up River" Six Nations people who, through the adaptation of Euro-Canadian practices and education, also had more money than their "Down River" counterparts. They were usually from the Mohawk, Cayuga, Tuscarora, and Delaware Nations.

[24] Sally M. Weaver, "Seth Newhouse and the Grand River Confederacy at Mid-Nineteenth Century," in *Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies*, edited by Michael K. Foster, Jack Campisi, and Marianne Mithun (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 172; Sally M. Weaver, "The Iroquois: The Grand River Reserve in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century, 1875-1945," in *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations*, edited by Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994), 213-214; and Sally M. Weaver, "Six Nations of the Grand River, Ontario," in *Handbook of North American Indians* vol. 15: Northeast, edited by Bruce G. Trigger (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 530.

[25] Weaver, "Six Nations of the Grand River, Ontario," 530 and "The Iroquois: The Grand River Reserve in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century, 1875-1945," 213-214.

between themselves and the British Crown.[26] The Council also sponsored (and many of their members were a part of) other non-denominational social groups within the Territory like the Temperance Society and the Agricultural Society in which both Christian and Longhouse followers participated.[27] Further, these groups created other social events where traditional Six Nations culture could be observed, like women providing the food for large gatherings and socials, and the Agricultural Society handing out prizes for the making of corn bread, maple sugar, and beadwork, among other homemade items.[28]

Other authors also contradict Weaver's thesis of limited social interaction. In his study of the 1890s diary of Six Nations man Peter "Farmer" Hill, ethnohistorian Fred Voget found that Hill, a successful farmer who was integrated heavily in the economies of the non-Six Nations community, still took time out of his year for Council activities.[29] In 1899, Six Nations amateur anthropologist/ethnographer and entertainer John Brant-Sero wrote that non-Christian Six Nations' children attended and learned to read English from the bible in schools, even though the non-Christian children did not follow the Christian teachings.[30] The 1896 edition of the *Indian Magazine*, started by Mississauga Chief and doctor Peter Edmund Jones out of his office in the town of Hagersville, documented Christian and non-Christian Six Nations children celebrating Christmas and New Years together with pageants, the giving of presents, and participating in the *Noyah* (New Year's Day) tradition of going door to door

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[26] Susan Marie Hill, 34 and Tom Hill and Joanna Bedard, *Council Fire: A Resource Guide* (Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 1989), 23.

[27] Alison E. Norman, "Race, Gender and Colonialism: Public Life Among the Six Nations Grand River, 1899-1939" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Toronto, 2010), 259 and 263.

[28] Norman, 262 and 292n181. According to the *Report of the New England Company 1871-1872*, 196, although the Cayuga were one of the hardest groups to convert to Christianity, the president, James Jamieson, and treasurer, James Styres, of the Six Nations Agricultural Society were both Cayuga. According to Six Nations Agricultural Society, *Six Nations Indians Yesterday and To-day*, Ohsweken: Six Nations Agricultural Society, 1942), 18, fair organizers also held competitions for non-traditional Six Nations handiwork including prizes for men's shirt (hand and machine made), embroidery, and crochet work. In the *Reports of the New England Company, 1869-1870*, 339, it is noted that during their 3rd annual fair in 1870, the Agricultural Society gave $168.75 in prizes.

[29] Fred Voget, "A Six Nations Diary, 1891-1894," *Ethnohistory* 16, 4 (1969): 346-360.

[30] John O. Brant-Sero, "The Six Nations Indians in the Province of Ontario, Canada," *Journal and Transactions of the Wentworth Historical Society* 2 (1899): 73.

visiting friends and family.[31] This evidence suggests that any division between these two groups was more complex than Weaver's segregation thesis.

Also problematic with Weaver's analysis is her claim that the Six Nations Confederacy Council accepted its role as a band council government similar to that advocated by Canada's *Indian Act*.[32] Like a band council, the Confederacy Council did adapt Euro-Canadian style bylaws and committees to handle community issues.[33] As noted by anthropologist John A. Noon and historian Sydney Harring, the Confederacy Council chose to use these by-laws and committees in cases where they did not have existing traditional structures, rules, or laws.[34] They did not, however, accept the act as evidenced in its overt rejection at Grand Council meetings throughout the 1870s and 1880s.[35] Weaver's opinions are further contradicted by scholar and lawyer Malcolm Montgomery and Weaver herself when they both point out that during this time period, the Council acted outside of the authority of a local council, regularly petitioning the Canadian and other international governmental bodies about the current state of affairs within the Territory and their alliance with Britain.[36] The Council did not see itself as a simple municipal council but rather as an international body that controlled their internal and external/foreign affairs.

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[31] Allen Sherwin, *Bridging Two Peoples: Chief Peter E. Jones, 1843-1909* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2012), 104 and *The Indian Magazine*, January 1896, found in LAC, RG10, Vol. 2837, File 171,348. Although the Noyah tradition originated in the Mohawk Valley from the Dutch tradition Nieuwe Jaar, it came with the Six Nations when they migrated into the Grand River Territory and is an example of a post-traditional activity that has become part of Six Nations traditional culture.

[32] Sally M. Weaver, *Medicine and Politics Among the Grand River Iroquois: A Study of the Non-Conservatives* (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1972), ix and "Seth Newhouse and the Grand River Confederacy at Mid-Nineteenth Century," 176.

[33] Weaver, "The Iroquois: The Grand River Reserve in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century, 1875-1945," 233 and John A. Noon, *Law and Government of the Grand River Iroquois* (New York: The Viking Fund, 1949).

[34] Noon, 73 and Sydney L. Harring, *White Man's Law: First Nations People in 19th Century Jurisprudence*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press and the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 1998), 116.

[35] Norman Shields, "The Grand General Indian Council of Ontario and Indian Status Legislation," in *Lines Drawn Upon the Water: First Nations and the Great Lakes Borders and Borderlands* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008), 210-213; Sherwin, 76 and 79; and *The General Council of the Six Nations and Delegates from Different Bands in Western and Eastern Canada* (Hamilton: The Hamilton Spectator, 1870).

[36] Malcolm Montgomery, "The Legal Status of the Six Nations Indian in Canada," *Ontario History* 55, 2 (1963): 96 and Weaver, "Six Nations of the Grand River, Ontario," 528.

These misconceptions of Six Nations culture were actively challenged by the people of Six Nations at Grand River, some of whom shared their histories with those outside non-Six Nations community, as evidenced in nineteenth- and twentieth-century texts by anthropologists and ethnographers. This period represented a double-edged sword for the Six Nations since many of the anthropologists to whom they were telling their histories believed they were on a mission to record the history and culture of a dying race. Whether it was the 1845-46 recording of Chainbreaker's reminiscences of the American Revolution, the various works of Horatio Hale, Arthur C. Parker, Paul A.W. Wallace, or the works of E.A. Smith or Jessie Cornplanter, Six Nations and non-Six Nations authors portrayed Six Nations history in a way that mirrored the Euro-American historical tradition while also ensuring that the history of Six Nations culture remained authentic to their understandings of it.[37] These ideas about the supposed "end" of their culture continued to be challenged by the people of Six Nations – as can be seen in the example of Asa R. Hill's 1922 paper, "The Historical Position of the Six Nations" or the nineteenth- and twentieth-century authors and performers noted by Haudenosaunee scholar Rick Monture in his book *We Share Our Matters*.[38] Local historian George Beaver, in his columns for *The Brantford Expositor*, also showed that Six Nations historic knowledge of their traditional culture was not lost during this period. Running from 1987 to 1995, Beaver's column noted times when before the First World War, the Six Nations Confederacy Council used their alliance relationship to protest the Canadian government and block government development projects in the Grand River Territory, told about Six Nations traditional culture including the history of the Confederacy Council, hunting and living off the land, Six Nations adoptions of non-Six Nations children, and oral histories of Six Nations land dispossession especially during the contested land surrenders of

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[37] Chainbreaker, *Chainbreaker's War: A Seneca Chief Remembers the American Revolution*, edited by Jeanne Winston Alder (Hensonville New York: Black Dome, 2002 [1845-46]); Horatio E. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rights and Hale on the Iroquois* (Ohsweken: Iroqrafts, 1989 [1881-1896]); Arthur C. Parker, *The Code of Handsome Lake, The Seneca Prophet* (Ohsweken: Iroqrafts, 2000 [1912]); Arthur C. Parker, *Parker on the Iroquois*, edited by William N. Fenton (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1975); Paul A.W. Wallace, *The White Roots of Peace* (Ohsweken: Iroqrafts, 1998 [1946]); E.A. Smith, *Myths of the Iroquois* (Ohsweken, Iroqrafts, 1989 [1883]); and Jessie J. Cornplanter, *Legends of the Longhouse* (Ohsweken: Iroqrafts, 1986 [1938]).

[38] Asa R. Hill, "The Historical Position of the Six Nations," *Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society* vol. 19 (1922): 103-109 and Rick Monture, *We Share Our Matters: Two Centuries of Writing and Resistance at Six Nations of the Grand River* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2014).

the 1840s.[39] These ideas, however, become lost or ignored in the dominant discourse of First Nations assimilation and the non-Indigenous quest to find the 'authentic Indian.'[40]

As noted by Kenyon and Weaver, arguments suggesting cultural assimilation come from non-First Nations cultural anthropologists who noted that, superficially, Six Nations communities, whether they be at Grand River or elsewhere Canada or the United States, seemed to follow the same economic patterns as non-First Nations people. Anthropologist Anthony F.C. Wallace claimed that through the Code of Handsome Lake, a prophecy dictating how the people of Six Nations were to live, the Seneca in the United States borrowed Euro-American cultural traits, mostly European style farming, after the bottom fell out of the fur trade in New York State.[41] Fellow anthropologists and ethnohistorians Alex F. Ricciardelli and Morris Freilich also noted similar changes in the social structure of the Oneida community on the Thames River and Mohawk at Kahnawake, with both communities changing their economic base, again to Euro-Canadian style farming, to fit the patterns found outside of Six Nations communities.[42] Similar patterns can be seen in the reports of the New England Company. From 1840 to the mid to late 1870s, these reports noted that the Mohawk community at the Bay of Quinte had petitioned the company to erect a school and lead them in religion, trades, and Euro-Canadian farming. These reports also explain that the people at

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[39] George Beaver, *Mohawk Reporter: The Six Nations Columns of George Beaver* (Ohsweken: Iroqrafts, 1997), 16-17, 20-25, 28, 29-35, 67, 118, 124, 131, and 159.

[40] The quest for the "authentic Indian," according to Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounters from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), came out of discipline of anthropology and the need to obtain information about First Nations culture from First Nations people who were "untainted" by outside Euro-American and Canadian culture. This concept plagued early anthropologists and became the focus of the discipline in the 1870s, as exemplified in the works of Franz Boas and other anthropologists of the period. The concept continues in anthropological works today as found in William Fenton ed., *Parker on the Iroquois* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1975), with Fenton's analysis of the works of Arthur C. Parker.

[41] Anthony F.C. Wallace, *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970). Wallace's analysis further infers that the borrowing of Quaker farming practices by the Seneca was the Seneca choosing European culture over their traditional culture.

[42] Alex F. Ricciardelli, "The Adoption of White Agriculture by the Oneida Indians," *Ethnohistory* 10, 4 (1963): 309-328.

the Bay of Quinte and Grand River wanted this education and training to combat the many instances of non-Six Nations squatters settling and taking away the Six Nations land base.[43]

This construct of assimilation, however, can be countered by similar evidence demonstrating that the adaptive, dynamic traditional culture of the Six Nations was alive and well during the period between the War of 1812 and First World War. Newspapers demonstrate this enduring culture in their reporting on Six Nations events and history. *The Brantford Expositor* ran articles like "Indian Cradle, 100 Years Old, Yet Used" tell of Six Nations people still practicing and using their traditional knowledge, while other articles informed readers that even though the Six Nations no longer occupied the land in Brantford and Brant County, their historical presence, through their physical remains was still noted within the land.[44] Even coverage of Six Nations political struggles against the Canadian government, especially in the 1920s, gives the reader an account of Six Nations history and why they believe, due to their alliance and treaties with the British, they lie outside Canadian jurisdiction.[45]

Other archival sources show Six Nations understanding of their traditional and the development of their post-traditional culture. Six Nations protests about Canadian encroachment on their rights can be found in governmental reports from 1828 and into the 1870s and in the official files of the Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, found at the Library and Archives of Canada. Further protests of this encroachment and instances of Six Nations people living traditional and post-traditional lives can be found in other local archives, like those found in Brant and Haldimand Counties. These archival documents, local papers, and centennial histories give a history of Six Nations presence on the land before and after it was said to have been surrendered or sold to non-Six Nations settlers, the interactions settlers had with Six Nations people who still lived off the land through hunting and

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[43] *Reports of the New England Company, 1840-1844*, 60-61, 113, 132, 134, 143, 150, and 151, *Reports of the New England Company, 1871-1872*, 392, and 396 and *Reports of the New England Company, 1873-1878*, 75.

[44] "Indian Cradle 100 Years Old, Yet Used," *The Brantford Expositor*, 5 October 1917, 10; "Found a Skull," *The Brantford Expositor*, 13 April 1918, 6; "Skeleton of Indian Found," *The Brantford Expositor*, 3 February 1921, 1; "Second Indian Skeleton Found," *The Brantford Expositor*, 5 February 1921, 1; and "On Brant's Farm," *The Brantford Expositor*, 31 May 1924, 6.

[45] See *The Brantford Expositor*, Various headlines from 9 March 1920 to 11 December 1923. For discussion on how the British and Canadian governments tried to redefine these treaties in leading up to and after the First World War, see chapters 5, 8.1 and 13.1, 13.2. and 13.4.

agriculture, and stories of Six Nations/non-Six Nations interactions leading up to the First World War.[46] Even the early survey notes taken by Augustus Jones and Lewis Burwell for the surrender of the town plot in Brantford and other areas surrounding the Grand River Territory show that Six Nations people were still using the land for traditional substance practices.[47] Similar notes about the continuation of traditional Six Nations political culture can be found in John Brant's letter book housed at the archives of the University of Western Ontario.[48] The reports of religious organizations, like the New England Company, also show that from the 1840s to the 1870s, Six Nations spiritual beliefs, even from those who professed to be converted to Christianity, continued at the Grand River Territory alongside

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[46] Robert Nelles Bertram, *County of Haldimand in the Days of Auld Lang Syne* (Port Hope: Hamly Press, 1905), 25, 30-43, 57, 59-60, and 78; Mabel Cowell, *History of Dunn Township* (No Publisher: 1967), 4, 8, and 60; *Grand Heritage: A History of Dunnville and the Townships of Canborough, Dunn, Moulton, Sherbrooke, and South Cayuga*, edited by Cheryl MacDonald (Dunnville, ON: Dunnville District Heritage Association, 1992) 21, 22, and 157; *The Township of Seneca History* (Seneca, ON: Seneca Centennial Historical Committee, 1967), 4, 31, 50-52, 60, 71, 74, 75, 83, 86, 88, and 97; Selina and Claire Erwin, *History of Jarvis, Ontario* (No Publisher, 1946), 2, 8, and 29; Ron Awde, *A History of Jarvis* (No publisher, 1976), 16-17 and 67; *History of Grand River Valley North Cayuga and Canboro Townships* (No Publisher, 1967), n.p.; *Cayuga Centennial 1859-1959* (No Publisher, No Date) 7 and 33; *A History of the Hagers of Middleport* (No Publisher, No Date), n.p., Brant Historical Society, 13-21, 301-43, 45-46, 47-53, 55-64, and 71-77; *Cayuga-North Cayuga Centennial History 1867-1967* (No Publisher, 1967), 35 and 158; *Canboro Township 1850-1950: Historical Sketch* (No Publisher, No Date), 9; Cheryl MacDonald, *Haldimand History: The Early Years 1784-1850* (Nanticoke, ON: Heronwood Enterprises, 2004), 18, 52, 80, 102, and 110; Kenneth Brueton. *Walpole Township Centennial History 1867-1967* (No Publisher, 1967), 9, 10, and 16; Gladys B. Paisley, *Gleanings, Memories and Sketches of Moulton Township 1867-1967* (No Publisher, 1967), 7; *Dunnville Ontario Centennial Year 1950: 100 Years of Progress* (Dunnville, ON: Dunnville Centennial Committee, 1950), n.p.; Russell Harper, *The Early History of Haldimand County* (Caledonia: Grand River Sachem, 1950), 5, 32-33, and 58; Mabel Dunham, *Grand River* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1945), 170, 180, 181, and 183; William John Quinsey, *York, Grand River: Its Early History and Directory 1834-1860* (York: York, Grand River Historical Society, 1991), 12, 17, 21-30, 33, 36, 37, 57-59, 60, 63-64, 72, 83, 92, 95, 96, 116, 129, 144, 145, 154-156, 166-167, 173, 193, 214, and 220-231; Jean H. Waldie, *The County of Brant: Centennial Sketches* (Paris, ON: Brant County Council, 1952) 5, 6, 10, 11, 13, 24, 26, 29, 31, and 47; R. Cuthbertson Muir, 23, 62, 63, 64, 73, 158, 176, 180, 223, 225, and 259; Gary Muir, *Brantford: A City's Century* vol. 1 1895-1945 (Brantford, Tupuna Press, 1999), 32, 37, 63, 102, 103, 247, and 250; F. Douglas Reville, *History of the County of Brant* vols. 1 and 2 (Brantford: The Hurley Printing Company, 1920), 15-77, 83, 98, 99, 132-137, 193-209, 338-350, 613, 614, 616, 617, and 672; Jean Waldie, *Brant County: The Story of Its People* vol. 1 (Paris, ON: J.R. Hastings Printing and Lithograph for the Brant Historical Society, 1984), 21-23, 27, 57-61, 66, and 105; Jean Waldie, *Brant County: The Story of Its People* vol. 2 (Paris, ON: J.R. Hastings Printing and Lithograph for the Brant Historical Society, 1985), 52, 53-54, and 59-61; and Bruce Emmerson Hill, *The Grand River Navigation Company* (Brantford, Brant Historical Society, 1994), 19-26 and 108.

[47] Donald G. Jones, "Augustus Jones – An Outline Biography," in *Wentworth Bygones: From the Papers and Records of The Head-of-the-Lake Historical Society, Hamilton, Ontario* (Hamilton: Eagle Press, 1988), 102, 103, and 107 and Louis Burwell, *Diary of the Survey of the Indian Surrender and Town Plot of Brantford on the Grand River in the Gore District* (Brantford: Brant Historical Society, 1994).

[48] John Brant Letter Book, 1828-32, Archives and Research Collection Centre, The University of Western Ontario.

traditional feast days, ceremonies and the installation of chiefs through various longhouses and Confederacy Council ceremonies.[49] Even the mouth piece of the Anglican Church, *The Canadian Churchman* noted instances where traditional leases of Six Nations land were still honoured by non-Six Nations settlers, with the Shannonville Mill bringing 60 bags of flour to the Six Nations at the Tyendinaga.[50]

Comparable histories were recorded in archival documents in the United States. The 1892 United States Extra Census Bulletin, through interviewing Six Nations people, published the traditional political, cultural, and historical ideas of the Six Nations.[51] In his study of the interviews taken at the Oneida community in Wisconsin as part of the Works Progress Administration in the 1930s, anthropologist Herbert Lewis also described many instances of traditional spiritual practices still being observed and other instances where these ideas including the Oneida language was layered onto non-Oneida culture, making it distinctly an aspect of post-traditional Oneida culture.[52] More recent oral history projects at the Oneida community on the Thames River in Canada are finding similar results.[53]

Professional and academic presses which have produced regional histories also show that Six Nations traditional and post-traditional life continued after the settlement by non-Six Nations people in the Grand River Territory. Toronto publishing company Warner, Beers, and Company, when publishing its *History of the County of Brant* in 1883 noted not only the history of Six Nations pre- and post-migration to the Grand River Territory, but also noted

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[49] *Reports of the New England Company, 1849-1858*, 10 and 39; *Reports of the New England Company, 1869-1870*, 342; and *Reports of the New England Company, 1871-1872*, 180, 212, 213, 226, 227, 228, 237-238, 283, 302, 310, and 325. Many of the governmental reports from 1828 and into the 1870s looking into the Indian Affairs in Canada note that Six Nations spiritual practices were still alive and well. For example, the *Report of the Special Commissioners Appointed on the 8th of September 1856, to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada* Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1858), 18, noted that "Many of these Indian are still Pagans" noting that the Cayuga in particular were the hardest to convert.

[50] "Ontario," *The Canadian Churchman*, 17 February 1938, 109.

[51] Thomas Donaldson, *Extra Census Bulletin. Indians. The Six Nations of New York: Cayuga, Mohawks (St. Regis), Oneidas, Onondagas, Seneca, Tuscaroras* (Washington, D.C.: United States Census Printing Office, 1892), 4, 36, 51, 54, 70, and 71.

[52] Herbert Lewis ed., *Oneida Lives: Long Lost Voices of the Wisconsin Oneidas* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 49, 124, 130, 150, 264, 275-276, 295-296, 404n16, and 405n13.

[53] Karin Michelson, Norma Kennedy, and Mercy Doxtator, *Glimpses of Oneida Life* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

many instances of settler and Six Nations interactions, even including mini-biographies of prominent Six Nations men. Although meant to show the amount of wealth and success recent European immigrants to Brantford had accumulated and thus act as a "how to" guide for Six Nations and non-Six Nations people to follow, the book still shows that Six Nations people participated in their own cultural lifeways.[54] Other accounts, like Charles Murray Johnston's 1964 study, *Valley of the Six Nations*, show traditional Six Nations culture and the interactions between setters and Six Nations people, however framing it not as the creation of a post-traditional Six Nations culture, but as a mixing of settler and Six Nations culture that would inevitably end with Six Nations people assimilating to the ways of dominant non-Six Nations society.[55]

Other studies follow this pattern. Framing Six Nations traditional culture as being in decline and replaced by non-First Nations, books like *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jamison* and Delaware author Enos T. Montour's *The Feathered U.E.L.s* showed that traditional Six Nations cultural practices were still followed by many within Six Nations territories in Canada and the United States.[56]

Other publications, like the writings of Six Nations' author Alma Greene and Chief Jacob Thomas counter these accounts noting that the traditional teachings and beliefs of the Six Nations continued to be shared within the community and are still known and practiced today.[57] Added to these are recent biographies of Six Nations people, like Keith Jamieson and Michelle A. Hamilton's biography of Dr. Oronhyatekha (Peter Martin), Kristina Ackley and Cristina Stanciu's collected works of Laura Cornelius Kellogg, and the many biographies

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[54] *History of the County of Brant* (Toronto: Warner, Beers and Company, 1883), 686-689.

[55] Johnston, *Valley of the Six Nations*.

[56] Mary Jamison, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jamison*, edited by James E. Seaver and June Namias (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1824 and 1992), 81, 84, 96, 97, 99, 119, 141, and 150-151 and Enos T. Montour, *The Feathered U.E.Ls: An Account of the Life and Times of Certain Canadian Native People* (Toronto: United Church of Canada, 1973).

[57] Alma Green, *Forbidden Voice: Reflections of a Mohawk Indian* (London: Hamlyn Publishing Group, 1972); Alma Greene, *Tales of the Mohawks* (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Son, 1975); and Jacob Thomas with Terry Boyle, *Teachings from the Longhouse* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1994).

of Pauline Johnson.[58] All these biographies show how individual Six Nations people layered their lives and identities, striking a balance between Six Nations and non-Six Nations culture and how they, like many other Six Nations people participated in a traditional and post-traditional culture.

Anthropological reports can also be used in this way. As one of the most studied First Nations communities in North America, there is no shortage of reports on Six Nations culture leading up to the First World War. The works of Lewis Henry Morgan, J.N.B. Hewitt, A.C. Parker, W.M. Beauchamp, Alexander A. Goldenweiser, Fred W. Waugh, R.B. Orr, and David Boyle all confirm in detail that traditional Six Nations culture was still practiced in post-traditional Six Nations society in the years leading up to the First World War.[59] Although these reports were written by anthropologists who believed that the traditional culture of the Six Nations was on the verge of disappearing, they also show many instances of Six Nations traditional culture being practiced. Anthropologist A.A. Goldenweiser, while conducting field research at Grand River in 1912, found that kinship ties and genealogies were widely known and used within the community.[60] He also reported the continuation of

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[58] Keith Jamieson and Michelle Hamilton, *Dr. Oronhyatekha: Security, Justice, and Equality* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2016); Kristina Ackley and Cristina Stanciu, *Laura Cornelius Kellogg: Our Democracy and the American Indian and Other Works* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2015); Marcus Van Steen, *Pauline Johnson: Her Life and Work* (Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton, 1965); Charlotte Gray, *Flint and Feather: The Life and Times of E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2002); Veronica Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe: The Times and Texts of E. Pauline Johnson* (Tekahionwake) (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); and Sheila M.F. Johnson, *Buckskin and Broadcloth: A Celebration of E. Pauline Johnson – Tekahionwake 1861-1913* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 1997).

[59] Some works by these authors used in this study are: Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Iroquois* (Secaucus, New Jersey: The Citadel Press, 1975 [1851]); J.N.B. Hewitt, "Era of the Formation of the Historic League of the Iroquois" *American Anthropologist* 7 (1894): 61-67; David Boyle, *Archaeological Report 1898 being part of Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education Ontario* (Toronto: Warwick Brothers and Rutter, 1898); John Arthur Gibson, *Concerning the League: The Iroquois League Tradition as Dictated on Onondaga by John Arthur Gibson*, edited and translated by Hanni Woodbury. Reg Henry, and Harry Webster (based on the manuscript of A.A. Goldenweiser) (Winnipeg: Memoir 9 of Algonquin and Iroquois Linguistics, 1992); W.M. Beauchamp, *The Iroquois Trail, or Foot-Prints of the Six Nations, in Customs, Traditions, and History in which are included David Cusick's Sketches* (Fayetteville, New York: H.C. Beauchamp, 1892); Fred W. Waugh, *Iroquois Food and Food Preparation* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1916); Arthur C. Parker, *Parker on the Iroquois*, edited by William N. Fenton (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1975); A.A. Goldenweiser, *On Iroquois Work* (Ottawa: Department of Mines, 1912 (1914); and R.B. Orr, *The Iroquois in Canada being part of Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education Ontario* (Toronto: A.T. Wilgress, 1919).

[60] Goldenweiser, 468, states that one particular genealogy of 258 names was tested by him and was proven to be completely accurate.

traditional healing and dream interpretation societies.[61] William Beauchamp noted in 1892 that not only did traditional Six Nations spiritual and ceremonial beliefs continue, but so had the Six Nations understanding of the importance and role of women.[62] In 1919, R.B. Orr, like David Boyle before him, told the readers of the *Report of the Ontario Minister of Education* that through their treaty agreements, the Six Nations had actively preserved many aspects of their culture and retained a distinct understanding of their traditional way of life. Orr concluded that the only way the dominant non-Six Nations society could assimilate the Six Nations would be to change and replace everything in Six Nations culture. He further warned that even if this was tried, the descendants of this generation would begin a cultural renaissance.[63]

Similar conclusions echo in more contemporary anthropological reports. John A. Noon's *Law and Government of the Iroquois* showed that a majority of Six Nations people believed in the ideas of the Confederacy Council even after their replacement in 1924 by an elected band council at the hands of the Canadian government. Noon proves this by pointing out the many compromises the Confederacy Council successfully negotiated between its Christian and Longhouse members. According to the records of the Council and the Department of Indian Affairs, once the Council reached a verdict, most cases were not sent to the Department of Indian Affairs for further arbitration. The Council's decisions were considered final and demonstrated that the majority of the community within the Grand River Territory respected the Council's ability to judge cases fairly.[64]

In her study of Six Nations communities in the 1850s, Elisabeth Tooker points out that women's roles within Six Nations society remained unchanged. Women still kept the household affairs in order, including child rearing and gardens. These gardens produced the majority of the daily food the family consumed and were augmented by women collecting

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[61] Goldenweiser, 472-474.

[62] Beauchamp, 63, 77, 110, and 112.

[63] Orr, 48.

[64] Noon, 31-32, 48-49 and 73 and Susan Marie Hill, 329. Hill, 331, further states that only a minority of estate cases were presented to the Council as most were still decided within the family unit based on traditional values.

berries, nuts, and maple sap. Men also continued their traditional roles by hunting and fishing to support their families.[65] Following the conclusions of Goldenweiser and Orr, Marcel Rioux, in the 1950s, noted that traditional healing practices continued to be performed by both Christian and non-Christian Six Nations people, not only because they proved effective, but people felt it was a distinct part of their culture that they wanted to keep alive.[66] In her 1961 study of the Grand River Six Nations, Annemarie Anrod Shimony demonstrates that not only were ideas of traditional Six Nations culture advocated and understood by the Grand River community, but these ideas can still be found within the Territory today among the faith keepers, traditional knowledge holders, and others who-follow traditional ways.[67] All of these more contemporary anthropological studies show that Six Nations traditional culture endured the period leading up to the First World War as they continued into the post-war years and continued to be practiced today. By layering and expanding their interpretations of traditional and non-Six Nations culture, the Six Nations created a unique post-traditional culture that, while still rooted in their traditional values, continued to guide them through and after the war.

A new wave of academics from various disciplines has also recently challenged the assimilation thesis, proposing that a polarized Dehorner/acculturated Six Nations culture did not exist during the pre-First World War period. Instead, Six Nations culture was made up of their traditional culture with aspects of Euro-Canadian culture, creating a dynamic post-traditional Six Nations culture. In the field of archaeology, Gary Warrick and Neal Ferris' excavations of Six Nations sites along the Grand River show a continuing Six Nations culture which had adopted some Euro-Canadian tools and ways of life for convenience and not because they were turning their backs on their traditional culture. Warrick found that while some Six Nations farmers at the Dewer and Davisville sites practiced large scale Euro-

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[65] Tooker, 463.

[66] Marcel Rioux, "Some Medical Beliefs and Practices of the Contemporary Iroquois Longhouse of the Six Nations Reserve," *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 41, 5 (1951): 151 and 152. Rioux further states that non-Six Nations people from the surrounding non-Six Nations communities also partook and had faith in Six Nations traditional medicine.

[67] Annemarie Anrod Shimony, *Conservatism among the Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994).

Canadian style farming, 75% of the population practiced small scale traditional alongside Euro-Canadian style farming.[68] This farming, based on clan lineage, involved the clan, or men of the clan, clearing a field and the women or entire clan tending to the crops.[69] When adopting Euro-Canadian styled farming, fields outside the settlement functioned as the domain of the men who worked them for economic gain, while Six Nations women tended small garden plots within the settlement filled with traditional crops like corn, beans, and squash for the family.[70] This continuation of traditional farming alongside other Six Nations frameworks show that Six Nations people, although farming for economic gain, did not compromise their personal values and ways of life. Warrick further notes that nineteenth-century Six Nations settlements and field placement on the Grand River mirrored the settlement patterns of their related predecessors, the Princess Point people.[71]

Warrick and Ferris also found many Six Nations settlement sites had large ratios of wild game bones compared to domesticated animal bones.[72] In his study of the Powless cabin site, Ferris found the occupants of the cabin relied on wild game rather than domestic animals and both traditional subsistence and cash crop agriculture.[73] In the Powless site kitchen, only 21% of the kitchen artifacts were of European origin.[74] The people living at the Powless site cooked their traditional food in traditional ways. At his Davisville excavation, Warrick found

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[68] Gary Warrick, "Six Nations Farming," Presented at the 41st Annual Meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association, Peterborough, Ontario, May 2008. Warrick based these findings on statistics found in the 1843 Agricultural Census.

[69] Warrick, "Six Nations Farming," 8 and 13 and Susan Marie Hill, 114 and 300. Further, Hill, 279-298, argues that in 1829, when the British Crown suggested the Six Nations divide their lands into six tracts for each nation, the Six Nations Confederacy Council declined as it would disrupt the shared cornfields of the Mohawk, Cayuga, and Oneida.

[70] Warrick, "Six Nations Farming," 13 and Susan Marie Hill, 113, 126, and 320.

[71] Warrick, "Six Nations Farming," 13.

[72] This point becomes more significant according to Warrick, "Historical Archaeology of the Six Nations of the Grand River," Presented at the 36th Annual Conference of the Canadian Archaeology Association, at McMaster University (Hamilton, Ontario), 7-10 May 2003), 13. In his analysis, official reports about Six Nations settlements on the Grand River filed by missionaries and government officials claim the Grand River land was unfavorable for hunting and therefore, Six Nations people were no longer participating in the hunt. These high ratios of wild game bones, however, disproves this. Warrick concludes that "obviously, the officials responsible for this report were either poor observers of reality or deliberately misrepresented reality."

[73] Ferris, "In Their Own Time: Archaeological Histories of First Nations-Lived Contacts and Colonialisms, Southwestern Ontario A.D. 1400-1900," 267.

[74] Ferris, "In Their Own Time," 272.

similar trends. These findings are more significant as Davisville was a mixed Six Nations and Mississauga Christian missionary settlement. Occupied from the early 1800s to 1835, those living at this site would have presumably demonstrated less traditional Six Nations activities in favor of Euro-Canadian ways of life. This varied evidence of traditional Six Nations and Euro-Canadian practices led Warrick and Ferris to conclude that instead of following a pattern of assimilation, Six Nations accepted some colonial practices and rejected others in favour of their own. It is this interplay between traditional culture and innovation that created a dynamic, but still distinctly Six Nations culture within pre-First World War Six Nations society.[75]

Haudenosaunee historians Susan M. Hill and Deborah Doxtator also challenged the assimilation myth. Doxtator's Ph.D. thesis, "What Happened to the Iroquois Clans?: A Study of Clans in Three Rotinonhsyonni Communities" (1996),[76] shows that although the Grand River Territory's political structures allowed them to add ideas that were not necessarily Haudenosaunee to procedures of the Confederacy Council, these changes had to fit the traditional values embedded in Six Nations culture. Doxtator observes that before coming to the Grand River Territory, the Haudenosaunee consisted of many different nations and religious beliefs. The Confederacy Council maintained a balance between these varying groups.[77] This balance was continued by the Council during the Christian/Longhouse and the "Up"/"Down" river debates described by Kenyon and Weaver. Although the "Up River" Six Nations groups seemed to be more progressive, their ideas, and those of the more traditional "Down River" groups allowed for the inclusion of traditional and non-traditional ideas, but not at the expense of one ideology over the other.[78] This may have made the administration of the Confederacy Council difficult, but the Council maintained a balance between these groups.

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[75] Ferris, "In Their Own Time," 285-286.

[76] Deborah Doxtator, "What Happened to the Iroquois Clans?: A Study of Clans in Three Rotinonhsyonni Communities" (Ph.D. diss., University of Western Ontario, 1996).

[77] Doxtator, 4.

[78] Doxtator, 328.

Doxtator also uses traditional Six Nations frameworks to understand the inclusion of new ideas into Six Nations life. Using the traditional Six Nations' framework of inside the community being the domain of women and what is outside the village being the domain of men, Doxtator demonstrates that although changing their economic base from traditional agriculture and hunting and gathering to Euro-Canadian style farming, Six Nations people still followed their traditional societal roles. For the Six Nations, women took care of the affairs of the village while men maintained the affairs outside the village.[79] For instance, hunting or warfare, which took people outside of the village, was traditionally a male role. Although taking their roles outside of the village clearing, the work of Six Nations men outside the village still aided the village by keeping it safe and fed.[80]

In her Ph.D. dissertation, "The Clay We Are Made Of: An Examination of the Haudenosaunee Land Tenure on the Grand River Territory," Susan Marie Hill continues Doxtator's argument, demonstrating that when the Six Nations settled the Grand River Territory after the American Revolution, they maintained the principles of their traditional land use.[81] As outlined in the "Dish With One Spoon" wampum belt and the Nanfan Treaty of 1701, the Six Nations held land in a common trust for all as the land was to be used to provide for families and future generations.[82] When the Confederacy Council gave land allotments, it was the receivers' responsibility to care for it. If the receivers fulfilled their responsibilities to the land, it was theirs to use and for their future generations to care for.[83] In this way, the Council still held governance over land, holding it in common for the entire Six Nations' community.

In her explanation of the political problems between the Confederacy Council and the Department of Indian Affairs, Hill explains that since the 1880s, the Department of Indian

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[79] Doxtator, 5.

[80] Doxtator, 91.

[81] This thesis has recently been turned into the book, Susan M. Hill, *The Clay We Are Made Of: Haudenosaunee Land Tenue on the Grand River* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017). The citations for my dissertation, however come from Hill's Ph.D. dissertation, "The Clay We Are Made Of: An Examination of the Haudenosaunee Land Tenure on the Grand River Territory," (Ph.D. diss., Trent University, 2006).

[82] Susan Marie Hill, 108.

[83] Susan Marie Hill, 354.

Affairs encouraged a vocal minority within the community, trying to force the Council to act according to the *Indian Act*. To prove this point, Hill uses many examples of the department's meddling with the Council's day to day operations including interference by various visiting superintendents and the Canadian government's staunch denial of any impropriety in land claims cases.[84] All of these incidents point to an active campaign by the Canadian government and the Department of Indian Affairs to restrict the Confederacy Council's influence over the Grand River Territory.

Other Haudenosaunee scholars have recently challenged the factionalism thesis argued by Weaver, Kenyon, and other anthropologists/archaeologists. Since the 1980s and 1990s, the "progressive" versus "traditionalists" argument has been expanded to include many other Six Nations factions. These divisions, like those described in Weaver and Kenyon's writings, are also designed show the loss in traditional knowledge and culture and are currently being used for political purposes by non-Six Nations people, including those in the communities surrounding the Grand River Territory and the federal government, to erode confidence in the ability of Six Nations people to govern themselves. Challenging these ideas, Haudenosaunee scholar Theresa McCarthy notes that factionalism does not erode culture, it adds to it. Every culture has political, religious, and other cultural divisions, but, even during a civil war, these cultures do not collapse. They instead add another layer onto their existing culture. In this way, non-First Nations societies can have different political parties, religious groups, and minority cultures without losing their distinct culture.[85] In her analysis, if this factionalism does exist, it did not break Six Nations culture, but instead strengthened it by bringing into it new – while reinforcing traditional – ideas that all Six Nations people can rally to in times of crisis.

Another Haudenosaunee scholar challenging the factionalism thesis is Rick Monture. In his book, *We Share Our Matters* (2014), Monture shows that far from being divided and passive, Six Nations political activists, authors, artists, and other performers have shared their

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[84] Susan Marie Hill, 357, 359, and 374.

[85] McCarthy, 119-124 and 154.

traditional worldviews and opposed encroachments on their sovereignty by the Canadian government with the non-Six Nations public since the American Revolution.[86]

Although these studies bring many differing ideas of how Six Nations traditional culture and ideas survived, they do show that in order to understand the Six Nations military from the end of the War of 1812 to the end of the First World War, a researcher cannot discount the existence of traditional cultures. These ideas dictated the behavior and decisions of the Six Nations Confederacy Council and individual Six Nations people, making their participation in nineteenth- and twentieth-century conflicts an extension of their traditional military participation. Although appearing similar to the non-Six Nations military, Six Nations military participation during this time would have a different meaning to Six Nations participants who layered their traditional understandings onto events and concerns of the non-Six Nations community. Uniquely Six Nations in its understanding, this layering would inform future Six Nations people of their post-traditional role in military conflicts. Unfortunately, military historians do not take this post-traditional culture into consideration when constructing their histories, limiting their understanding of Six Nations military participation during this time period.

1.2 Constructing the Six Nations Military

Current works about First Nations military, predominantly written by non-First Nations people and based on archival evidence, do little to include the voice of First Nations people, and generalize their wartime participation into a single homogenous experience.[87] This is not to say that the archive is devoid of the voices of First Nations people. Archives, being constructed by and containing the documents and artifacts chosen to be preserved by the dominate non-First Nations culture, tells us more about the creators of the archives than the

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[86] Rick Monture, *We Share Our Matters: Two Centuries of Writing and Resistance at Six Nations of the Grand River* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2014).

[87] This analysis of First Nations military is sometimes interrupted by the resistance movement led by Louis Riel in 1870 and 1885.

voices of those who are represented in it. With their opinions of what should or should not be included being limited during the time period many archives were being constructed, First Nations people voices can be stifled among the numerous documents created by non-First Nations people. The documents created by First Nations people that are saved by these archives only give their reader a fraction of the full story. These documents, although written by First Nations people, were considered important by non-First Nations people in the telling of their history. This limiting of First Nations voice in the archive makes it hard, but not impossible, to find a First Nations voice in the archive, but these documents need to be scrutinized by the researcher and First Nations community in order to determine their context and interpretation.

Scholars of the War of 1812 focus on the military efforts of Tecumseh and his alliance made up of various nations surrounding the Great Lakes. Three scholars are recognized authorities on the Six Nations during the War of 1812: George F.G. Stanley, Donald E. Graves, and Robert S. Allen. Although all three authors do give the Six Nations limited agency by noting the Grand River Six Nations did declare neutrality when the war initially broke out,[88] by basing the rest of their studies solely on archival evidence, they limit this agency, showing that the Grand River Six Nations continued to fight throughout 1812 to 1814 following the overall British strategy. They do not give any reason as to why the Six Nations fought or how they organized themselves militarily. Further, Stanley and Graves end their surveys with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent in 1814, failing to show the impact the conflict had on post-war Six Nations society. Although noting that the signing of the treaty affected many of Britain's First Nations allies in the coming decades, they do not give specifics on how this affected the Six Nations.[89] Allen continues his study into the 1830s and, although covering the various civilization policies of Lt. Gov. Peregrine Maitland, Sir John

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[88] George F.G. Stanley, "The Indians in the War of 1812," in *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations*, J.R. Miller, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 107-108; Donald E. Graves, "His Majesty's Aboriginal Allies: The Contribution of the Indigenous Peoples of North America to the Defence of Canada during the War of 1812," in *Aboriginal People and the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives*, edited by P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Craig Leslie Mantle (Kingston: Canadian Academy Press, 2007), 44; and Robert S. Allen, *His Majesty's Indian Allies: British Indian Policy in the Defence of Canada, 1774-1815* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992), 136. Stanley's article can also be found in Morris Zaslow ed., *The Defended Border: Upper Canada and the War of 1812* (Toronto: MacMillan Company of Canada, 1964), 174-188.

[89] Stanley, 120 and Graves, 52-54.

Colborne, and Sir Francis Bond Head, does not comment on the Six Nations military.[90] Two studies, Colin G. Calloway's *Crown and Calumet* (1987) and Timothy D. Willig's *Restoring the Chain of Friendship* (2008) examine the First Nations treaty relationship with the British Crown during the war and into 1815. Although giving agency by noting that the Six Nations articulated their allied status, treaty rights, and land claims to British authorities in Canada and England, these studies fall short in their examination of the effects and post-war realities these negotiations had on Six Nations/British alliance past 1815 and 1820.[91]

In order to give the Six Nations agency within the War of 1812, researchers have turned either to the edited journal of John Norton or Carl Benn's *The Iroquois in the War of 1812*. Although both studies give an account of the effect the war had on the Grand River community, both sources provide a limited understanding of the post-war realities faced by the Six Nations. For many scholars, the journal of John Norton was the best source for trying to understand the Grand River Six Nations during the war. Although written before Norton left the Grand River Territory in 1823, the dedication of his journal to the patronage of the Duke of Northumberland puts to question whether the journal is a reliable source.[92] By (re)writing his journal for the Duke of Northumberland, and the fact that after the War of 1812, Norton had fallen out of favor at the Grand River community,[93] one has to wonder if the information within the journal was an accurate depiction of the Grand River Territory, or was written for the benefit of the Duke. This would have been especially pertinent after losing the support and authority of the Grand River community as Norton would have had to rely on patronage until his death circa 1826 or 1831.[94] Even in the Champlain Society's 2013 reissue of the journal, Benn notes that, although the events Norton wrote about in the journal

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[90] Allen, 181-183.

[91] Colin G. Calloway, *Crown and Calumet: British-Indian Relations, 1783-1815* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 101 and Timothy D. Willig, *Restoring the Chain of Friendship: British Policy and the Indians of the Great Lakes, 1783-1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 250.

[92] John Norton, *The Journal of Major John Norton, 1816*, edited by Carl F. Klink and J.J. Talman (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1970), 3.

[93] Carl Benn, *The Iroquois in the War of 1812* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 184-187.

[94] Most sources cite Norton's death in 1826, as that is the last date Norton is noted in the public record. During his research, Carl Benn, *The Iroquois in the War of 1812*, 187, found that according to Norton's relatives, Norton died in 1831.

were accurate, he was also known for not reporting the entire story if there were parts of it with which he did not agree.[95]

Although writing in consultation with Six Nations, Benn's study, *The Iroquois in the War of 1812*, according to the author himself, is limited by his own Eurocentric bias. Due to his reliance on written archival evidence, Benn concluded that his account was riddled with non-First Nations ideas about the Six Nations,[96] making his account close, but still not an accurate account of the Six Nations military during and after the War of 1812. Correcting these problems and wanting to share their understanding of the War of 1812 for the conflict's bi-centenary, public historian and Haudenosaunee scholar, Richard W. Hill Sr. and the Woodland Cultural Centre produced their museum catalogue, *War Clubs and Wampum Belts*, for their exhibit commemorating the War of 1812. This catalogue explains that the Six Nations/British alliance relationship informed the Six Nations response and participation during war, challenging the voiceless archival evidence with Six Nations community narrative.[97] The catalogue further explains the wounds the war caused within Six Nations and how the memorialization of the war by the non-First Nations community has been portrayed as a sign of Six Nations subjugation to the Crown.[98] This is countered by the Six Nations war narrative, which recognizes their military support as a continuation of their alliance with the British.[99]

As mentioned, the military transition from the end of the War of 1812 to the beginning of the First World War, for Six Nations, has been relatively uncharted, save a few mentions in academic articles. In "Indifference, Difference, and Assimilation: Aboriginal People in Canadian Military Practice, 1900-1945," historian R. Scott Sheffield highlights the changes in Canadian society that made participation in the militia system a white privilege, but does

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[95] Carl Benn, "Introduction to the Reissue of the Journal of Major John Norton, 1816" in *The Journal of Major John Norton, 1816*, edited by Carl F. Klink and J.J. Talman (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 2013), xii.

[96] Benn, *The Iroquois in the War of 1812*, 7.

[97] Richard W. Hill Sr., 14, 34, 35, 42, 48, and 57.

[98] Richard W. Hill Sr., 58, 73, 75, and 78.

[99] Richard W. Hill Sr., 46, and 79-83.

nothing to outline First Nations military participation in the interwar years.[100] Similarly, John Moses' article, "Aboriginal Participation in Canadian Military Service," speaks to non-First Nations society no longer needing a First Nations military, but incorrectly speculates that by the mid-nineteenth century, First Nations groups could not organize militarily under their own leadership.[101] The Canadian Department of National Defence also commissioned and published two online surveys exploring First Nations military participation in Canada in 2004 and 2016, but both only chart First Nations military experiences and do not give any details about the motivations that fueled First Nations participation in these conflicts or if any changes occurred in First Nation military organization.[102] In his survey of twentieth-century motivations and participation in the Canadian militia system in Ontario, historian Mike O'Brien notes the enlistment of the Grand River Six Nations in the 37th Haldimand Rifles, but his article surveys the motivations for Ontario's participation in the militia system, not the reasons why Six Nations men enlisted.[103]

Two books by local historian Roger Sharpe also shows the development of the Grand River Six Nations military from the end of the War of 1812 to the 1880s.[104] These two books remain the best source for military information about the Grand River Six Nations. With little interpretation of archival evidence, Sharpe charts the Six Nations community's military participation alongside that of the neighbouring non-Six Nations communities of Brantford and Brant County. Although not enquiring as to why they participated in the military, his

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[100] R. Scott Sheffield, "Indifference, Difference, and Assimilation: Aboriginal People in Canadian Military Practice, 1900-1945," in *Aboriginal People and the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives*, 57-71.

[101] John Moses, "Aboriginal Participation in Canadian Military Service," *The Army Doctrine and Training Bulletin* 3, 3 (Fall 2000): n.p. (http://www.civilization.ca/research-and-collections/research/resources-for-scholars/essays-1/first-peoples/john-moses/aboriginal-participation-in-canadian-military-service/).

[102] John Moses, Donald Graves, and Warren Sinclair, *A Sketch Account of Aboriginal Peoples in the Canadian Military* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2004) (http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/D61-16-2004E.pdf) and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, John Moses, R. Scott Sheffield, and Maxime Gohier, *A Commemorative History of Aboriginal People in the Canadian Military* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2016) (http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/dhh-dhp/pub/boo-bro/abo-aut/doc/abo-aut-eng.pdf).

[103] Mike O'Brien, "Manhood and the Militia Myth: Masculinity, Class, and Militarism in Ontario, 1902-1914," *Labour/La Travail* 42 (Fall 1998): 115-141.

[104] Roger Sharpe, *Soldiers and Warriors: The Early Volunteer Militia of Brant County, 1856-1866* (Brantford: Canadian Military Heritage Museum, 1998) and Roger Sharpe, *The Martial Spirit: A History of the Sedentary Militia and the Six Nations Warriors of the Former Brant County Area 1784-1884* (Paris, ON: Roger Sharpe, 2003).

studies show that the Six Nations still mobilized their military forces under their own leadership within the British/Canadian militia system into the mid-nineteenth century.[105] This sentiment is echoed by Carl Benn in his book *Mohawks of the Nile*. Benn notes that although the culture surrounding Six Nations communities had changed, the Six Nations had not. They still understood their traditional military alliance with Britain and acted accordingly in a cultural continuum from the beginning of their alliance with Britain to 1885.[106] Although the Nile Expedition only recruited Six Nations people from Kahnawake, Benn explains that the histories and experiences of these men spread to other Six Nations communities, adding to the understandings of their military traditions. In this vein, Benn found that one of the recruits for the Nile Expedition was born and his family continued to live at Grand River, making his story an addition to the military traditions of the Six Nations at Grand River.

It is important to note that many Six Nations men also crossed the border and participated in the United States Civil War.[107] With these Six Nations men staying in contact with their families, and with heavy press coverage, these wartime experiences were also added to the Six Nations military tradition.[108] The Civil War also marked the Six Nations return to command military forces. Although he had limited combat experience, Ely S. Parker rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and acted as General Ulysses S. Grant's secretary and legal advisor. Furthering Parker's public presence, not only was he at the surrender of General Robert E. Lee's forces at the Appomattox Court House, it was Parker who wrote the declaration of surrender, effectively ending the U.S. Civil War.[109] Lt. Cornelius C. Cusick may have been the last Six Nations commander to actively lead Six Nations men in battle after he transferred to command "D" Company of the 132nd New York Volunteer Infantry,

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[105] Sharpe, *Soldiers and Warriors*, 27, 28, 29, 74, and 76 and *The Martial Spirit*, 74, 79, 81, 82, 84, 85, and 96.

[106] Carl Benn, *Mohawks of the Nile: First Nations among the Canadian Voyageurs in Egypt 1884-1885* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009), 10, 24, 29, 105, and 123.

[107] Laurence M. Hauptman, *The Iroquois in the Civil War: From Battlefield to Reservation* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 137.

[108] Hauptman, *The Iroquois in the Civil War*, 3 and 4.

[109] William H. Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps: Union General and Seneca Chief* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989), 108-111.

which was made up of 25 Six Nations men from western New York.[110] These men, along with the many Six Nations/Oneida men who enlisted from Wisconsin, would have also added to the Six Nations military tradition during the interwar years.

First Nations participation in the First World War has only recently become a field of interest within the academic community. Usually basing their research primarily on archival evidence, these studies do little to explore the First Nations understandings of their First World War experience. This academic study began in 1977 with Barbara M. Wilson and the Champlain Society's publication of *Ontario and the First World War*. In it, Wilson dedicates five pages of interpretation alongside ten pages of archival documents explaining the participation of First Nations people in Ontario during the war.[111] This limited explanation of First Nations participation in the war was expanded in 1985 by historian Fred Gaffen in his book, *Forgotten Soldiers*.[112] In this thirty-two page study of the First World War, Gaffen surveyed the participation of all First Nations people across Canada.[113] Although brief, Gaffen's exploration of First Nations involvement in the war challenged military scholars to approach the First Nations communities they were studying when completing military histories of First Nations people. In 1993, the Canadian Department of Veterans Affairs released a similar survey to Gaffen's with its book, *Native Soldiers, Foreign Battlefields*.[114]

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[110] Hauptman, *The Iroquois in the Civil War*, 19 and Laurence M. Hauptman, "'War Eagle': Lieutenant Cornelius C. Cusick," in *Seven Generations of Iroquois Leadership: The Six Nations Since 1800* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2008), 108. Hauptman, *Seven Generations of Iroquois Leadership*, 112, further notes that the post-Civil War stories of Cusick's military exploits during the U.S. pacification of the Lakota and Dakota would also be added to the Six Nations military histories.

[111] Barbara M. Wilson, *Ontario in the First World War* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1977), cx-cxiv and 169-175.

[112] Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers* (Penticton: Theytus Books Ltd., 1985). This book has been rereleased by Defence Academy Press in 2008.

[113] In 1986, the Woodland Cultural Centre also produced a museum catalogue for their "Warriors" exhibit and conference. This survey of Six Nations military participation from the First World War to the Korean conflict relied heavily on the information provided by Gaffen for its First World War section. See *Warriors: A Resource Guide* (Brantford: Woodland Indian Cultural Education Centre, 1986).

[114] Janice Summerby, *Native Soldiers, Foreign Battlefields* (Ottawa: Veterans Affairs Canada, 1993). The Department of Veterans Affairs rereleased this book in 2005 and created a digital version of the book in 2017. The 2005 version of the book is available at https://www.veterans.gc.ca/public/pages/remembrance/those-who-served/aboriginal-veterans/First Nations-soldiers/First Nationss_e.pdf, while the 2017 electronic version of the book is available at http://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/those-who-served/indigenous-veterans/First

Written by Janice Summerby, this study included a twenty-page examination of the First World War. Unlike Gaffen, this work did not challenge researchers to explore new ideas regarding First Nations research, but instead considered First Nations participation in the war as an acceptance of their place in the Canadian military and body politic.

It was not until the 1999 publication of L. James Dempsey's *Warriors of the King* that a researcher accepted Gaffen's challenge for a new approach to First Nations military research.[115] Focusing mainly on Cree and Blackfoot soldiers, Dempsey narrows his study to explore how individual First Nations communities responded to the challenges of Canadian war effort. By utilizing this approach, Dempsey showed the complexities of the relationship between First Nations communities, the federal government and missionaries, and how these complexities worked themselves out during the First World War. By talking with the First Nations communities, Dempsey concluded that the primary motivation for their participation in the war was based on their traditional culture and honouring their treaty relationships with the British Crown.

A boom in writing about First Nations people in the First World War in Canada began in 2007 with the publication of a two-book edited compilation by historians P. Whitney Lackenbauer, R. Scott Sheffield, and Craig Leslie Mantle exploring the history of First Nations people in Canada's military and the participation of Indigenous people in militaries around the world.[116] Appearing in the first book are two articles about the Six Nations at Grand River during the First World War. By taking the archival record literally, Delaware historian John Moses' wartime history of the Six Nations grossly misrepresents the Six Nations war effort. Framing his argument around Weaver's understanding that the Dehorners represented the majority of the population at Grand River, Moses proposes that all Six Nations men who enlisted in the First World War viewed themselves as assimilated, or

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Nations-soldiers. This book also relied heavily on information provided by Gaffen and the Woodland Cultural Centre's publications.

[115] L. James Dempsey, *Warriors of the King: Prairie Indians in World War I* (Regina: University of Regina Press for the Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1999).

[116] Lackenbauer and Mantle eds., *Aboriginal People and the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives* (Kingston: Canadian Academy Press, 2007) and Lackenbauer, Sheffield, and Mantle eds., *Aboriginal People and Military Participation: Canadian and International Perspectives* (Kingston: Canadian Academy Press, 2007).

wanted to be assimilated, into the Canadian state. When these men came home, they wanted an elected system in charge at Grand River and fought for this right.[117] Although not as strong of an interpretation of how the Six Nations felt about the First World War, P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Katharine McGowen's article, "Competing Loyalties in a Complex Community," explores the negative response the Grand River community had to active recruiting by the Canadian armed forces within their Territory.[118] This study, entirely informed by archival evidence, does not explain that, although supportive of their men who volunteered to enlist, the Six Nations were against the active recruitment of their men by the Canadian government. Released five years later, historian Timothy C. Winegard's book, *For King and Kanata*, possesses the same shortfalls as Summerby, Moses, and Lackenbauer and McGowen. In this book, Winegard homogenizes all First Nations responses to the First World War to an ingrained, but undefined "warrior ethic" of all First Nations peoples.[119] Although providing a small survey of the changes of military participation of the Grand River Six Nations, the reasons for these changes, on a community level, are never explained.[120] His reliance solely on archival evidence is also problematic as it does not explain why the people of Six Nations were willing to fight in a war that did not seem to affect their land or their interests.

In the United States, three books gave depth and nuance to the First Nations military experience in the First World War. Historian Thomas A. Britten, in his study *American Indians in World War I* (1997), gives a detailed overview of First Nations people in the war effort.[121] Relying heavily on archival evidence, Britten, like historians in Canada, gives little

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[117] John Moses, "The Return of the First Nations: Six Nations Veterans and Political Change at the Grand River Reserve, 1917-1924," in *Aboriginal People and the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives*, 117 and 121 and John Moses, "Political Change at the Grand River Reserve, 1917-1924," *Canadian Historical Association Bulletin* 32, 3 (2006): 11 and 12.

[118] P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Katharine McGowen, "Competing Loyalties in a Complex Community: Enlisting the Six Nations in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1917," in *Aboriginal People and the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives*, 89-115.

[119] Timothy C. Winegard, *For King and Kanata: Canadian Indians and the First World War* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), 3.

[120] Winegard, 7, 9, 35, and 36.

[121] Thomas A. Britten, *American Indians in World War I: At War and at Home* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997).

voice to First Nations people, but the depth of his study acted as a foundation of other studies in Canada and the United States. Although exploring the First Nations veterans in the Vietnam War, historian and American and Indigenous Studies scholar Tom Holm provides one of the best community-level understandings about how nineteenth- and twentieth-century warfare, beginning with the US Civil War, has shaped First Nations military identities in the United States.[122] By combining archival documents and interviews with veterans and communities, Holm creates a balanced history trying to understand how wars have affected those who fought them, arguing that, for veterans, this combat experience connected them to their traditional identities as First Nations people. Historian Susan Applegate Krouse's book *North American Indians in the Great War* (2007) has also added complexity to the study of First Nations people in the First World War.[123] Using post-war surveys distributed to First Nations veterans in the United States by ethnographer Joseph K. Dixon, Krouse is able to use veterans' own words to explain their reasons for enlisting in the First World War, while also discussing their trials and tribulations during the post-war years. These stories and explanations make Krouse's study a remarkable resource for researchers looking into the First Nations veterans' experience in the war.

Following the studies by Lackenbauer and Winegard, many contemporary studies in Canada still do not give First Nations people a voice in their own history. Some are general surveys of First Nations participation, like historian Adam Crerar's study of First Nations people in Ontario in his article "Ontario and the Great War" or Canada-wide surveys of First Nations people in the war, like historian Robert J. Talbot's article in the *Journal of Canadian Studies* or Brian McDowell's article "Loyalty and Submission: Contested Discourses on Aboriginal War Service, 1914-1939."[124] Other historians, however, continued the legacy of Gaffen,

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[122] Tom Holm, *Strong Hearts, Wounded Souls: First Nations American Veterans of the Vietnam War* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996).

[123] Susan Applegate Krouse, *North American Indians in the Great War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

[124] Adam Crerar, "Ontario in the Great War," in *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown*, edited by David Mackenzie (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 247 and 250-252; Robert J. Talbot, "'It Would Be Best to Leave Us Alone': First Nations Responses to the Canadian War Effort, 1914-18," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 45, 1 (2011): 90-120; and Brian McDowell, "Loyalty and Submission: Contested Discourses on Aboriginal War Service, 1914-1939," in *The Great War: From Memory to History*,

encouraging historians to think differently about how they approach their work. In his 2013 article in *Native Studies Review*, Richard Holt challenged historians to fill in the gaps in their research by posing questions that have yet to be answered in the study of First Nations people in the First World War, including why were First Nations recruits accepted at some local recruiting stations and not others, why did First Nations people make good soldiers, and why were they channeled into certain military roles over others?[125] Allegra Fryxell, Kris Inwood, and Aaron van Tassel have analyzed statistical data to understand the past life experiences and enlistment patterns of First Nations soldiers.[126] Historian Eric Story has proposed that before we understand what the First Nations soldier experience was like during the war, we first have to understand their lived experiences. With Canadian society already prejudiced against them, by enlisting, these soldiers were further entering a foreign environment that would have tried to assimilate them into trench life. Soldiers would have experienced the war differently than non-First Nations soldiers, with some assimilating into trench life, while others held on to their traditional beliefs as a way to survive the war.[127] Recently, Story has also written about the post-war struggles of these veterans and the racism they had to overcome after proving themselves on the battlefield.[128] These studies point to new ways of approaching the study of First Nations people in the First World War that reach beyond the static archive and into a more dynamic, cross-cultural understanding and research approach.

Although the studies of the Six Nations during the First World War seem to lack any use of oral evidence or community consultation, there have been a growing number of military studies of First Nations peoples that combine both archival evidence alongside community

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edited by Jonathan F. Vance, Kellen Kurschinski, Matt Symes, Steve Marti, and Alicia Roberts (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2015): 193-213.

[125] Richard Holt, "First Nations Soldiers in the Great War," *Native Studies Review* 22, 1 and 2 (2013): 139-156.

[126] Allegra Fryxell, Kris Inwood, and Aaron van Tassel, "Aboriginal and Mixed-Race Men in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-18," in *Lives in Transition: Longitudinal Analysis from Historical Sources*, edited by Peter Baskerville and Kris Inwood (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens Press, 2015): 254-273.

[127] Eric Story, "'The Awakening Has Come": Canadian First Nations in the Great War Era," *Canadian Military History* 24, 2 (2015): 11-35.

[128] Eric Story, "The Wabanosse Hearing: An Indigenous Veteran Fighting for a Great War Pension," *Canadian MilitaryHistory.ca* (7 October 2016) (http://canadianmilitaryhistory.ca/the-wabanosse-hearing-an-indigenous-veteran-fighting-for-a-great-war-pension) and "Indigenous Veterans, the Indian Act, and the Origins of National Aboriginal Veterans Day," *ActiveHistory.ca* (27 March 2018) (http://activehistory.ca/2018/03/indigenous-veterans-the-indian-act-and-the-origins-of-national-aboriginal-day).

consultation to achieve a deeper understanding of why these conflicts were fought by First Nations peoples. Historian Jon Parmenter has shown that by including First Nations community understandings of early colonial warfare, their actions, which are perceived by the non-First Nations audience as illogical, can be understood.[129] One of the best examples of cross cultural military history can be found in Blair Stonechild and Bill Waiser's book, *Loyal till Death*. By combining archival evidence and active community consultation, Stonechild and Waiser were able to demonstrate that, although it conflicted with Canada's national narrative, First Nations communities who were accused of participating in the 1885 Riel Resistance did not act in alliance with Riel.[130] Without active consultation with First Nations communities, the depth and understanding a researcher can demonstrate in their works is limited to whatever can be found in non-First Nations archives. In order to obtain and understand the full depth of the First Nations relationship with the Canadian state, the process of community consultation should be used.

1.3 Theoretically Orientating my Dissertation

Orientating my thesis are the works and ideas proposed by military, Imperial, and Indigenous Studies scholars. To understand the Imperial and militaristic attitudes of the pre-First World War period, I use the broad definition of militarism proposed historian John M. Mackenzie who proposes that militarism was made up of the propagation of the British monarchy, the British Empire, and the military found throughout pre-war society.[131] The dissemination of militarism and Imperial ideas, however, was not always led by the political elite. Instead, they were commonly expressed through popular culture and public media throughout the

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[129] Jon Parmenter, "Pontiac's War: Forging New Links in the Anglo-Iroquois Covenant Chain, 1758-1766," *Ethnohistory*, 44, 4 (Autumn, 1997): 617-654 and "After the Mourning Wars: The Iroquois as Allies in Colonial North American Campaigns, 1676-1760," *William and Mary Quarterly* 64 (2007): 39-76.

[130] Blair Stonechild and Bill Waiser, *Loyal till Death: Indians and the North-West Rebellion* (Markham, ON: Fifth House, 1997), iiv-iiiv and 264-265. Although some historians and First Nations people are divided on the overall conclusions of this study, I do feel the study's methodology should be followed to better understand First Nations history in Canada.

[131] John M. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

British empire as capitalists and others knew these images could be profitable.[132] By using an array of images in everything from print media, children's toys, and other aspects of popular culture, people living in the empire had a keen understanding of their place within, and the messages they should follow to be good citizens of, the empire. Although this study mainly covers the Anglo-British experience with the Empire, many studies of Canada during this time period note similar changes, especially in the province of Ontario. Jane Errington's book, *The Lion, the Eagle and Upper Canada* shows that Imperial sentiment in Canada post-War of 1812 developed slowly, but according to historian Norman Knowles, by the 1860s, Canadians began to assert this Imperial sentiment by highlighting their historical connections to the British empire.[133] From the 1860s to the First World War, politicians and the general public alike created genealogies and other stories, connecting themselves to British empire. Even James Pliny Whitney, after becoming premier of Ontario, kept his American roots hidden from his constituents fearing political backlash for his family not being British loyalists during the American Revolution.[134] Other studies note this Imperial change in Canadian society. In their 1965 and 1970 studies of Canada, covering the years 1867 to 1914, historians Norman Penlington and Carl Berger note that Canadian society, as a whole, was taking on an Imperial identity.[135] Although Berger argues this Imperial identity was a mix of pride in the British Imperial and Canadian national identity, other studies have shown that Imperial authorities and Canadians used regal and vice-regal images and visits to rally the people of Canada, including First Nations people, to the British Crown.[136] Following the

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[132] Mackenzie, 5.

[133] Jane Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada: A Developing Colonial Ideology* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens Press, 1987) and Norman Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists: The Ontario Loyalist Tradition and the Creation of Usable Pasts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

[134] Charles W. Humphries, *'Honest Enough to Be Bold': The Life and Times of Sir James Pliny Whitney* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 6.

[135] Norman Penlington, *Canada and Imperialism, 1896-1899* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965) and Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Idea of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

[136] R.H. Hubbard, "Viceregal Influences on Canadian Society," in *The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age*, edited by W.L. Morton (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968): 256-274; Ian Radford, *Royal Spectacle: The 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); and Wade A. Henry, "Imagining the Great White Mother and the Great King: Aboriginal Tradition and Royal Representation at the "Great Pow-wow" of 1901," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 11, 1 (2000): 87-108.

growth of military imperialism as explored by Penlington, military historian James Wood has shown there was remarkable the rise in Canadian militarism through the growth and popularity of the Canadian militia from the 1890s and leading into the First World War.[137] Historian Mark Moss furthers this study, noting that in Ontario, this military culture was forced onto the youth of the province through drill and cadet corps.[138] This Imperial culture was also relayed to the youth of Canada through textbooks and juvenile literature, which used the British empire and the British military to teach children everything from moral to historical and geographical lessons.[139] Although a fictional account, Sara Jeanette Duncan's novel, *The Imperialist*, shows that all of these ideas and movements were followed by the people in the City of Brantford and surrounding communities, including the Six Nations.[140] These sentiments were also found in local history books with Warner, Beers, and Company and local historian F. Douglas Reville dedicating large sections of their books exploring the royal visits, Six Nations, and military history.[141]

I use a mix of methodologies and ideas proposed by military history and Indigenous scholars to anchor my dissertation. Following the research frameworks of Blair Stonechild and Bill Waiser and Tom Holm, I combine archival sources and community narratives from consultation with the Six Nations community to better understand how their military participation affected their community.[142] The theoretical framework proposed by Philip J. Deloria in his book *Indians in Unexpected Places* (2004) will also be used to address why

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[137] James Wood, *Militia Myths: Ideas of the Canadian Citizen Soldier, 1896-1921* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010).

[138] Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[139] Timothy J. Stanley, "White Supremacy and the Rhetoric of Educational Indoctrination," in *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialization and British Imperialism*, edited by J.A. Mangan (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1990): 144-162; Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 10, 11, 33, and 92; Amy von Heyking, *Creating Citizens: History and Identity in Alberta's Schools, 1905-1980* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006), 4, 11, 16, 18, 19, and 23; and Stephen Dale, *Noble Illusions: Young Canada Goes to War* (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 2014).

[140] Sara Janette Duncan, *The Imperialist*, edited by Thomas E. Tausky (Ottawa: The Tecumseh Press, 1996 [1903-1904]).

[141] *History of the County of Brant* (Toronto: Warner, Beers and Company, 1883) and F. Douglas Reville, *History of the County of Brant* vols. 1 and 2 (Brantford: The Hurley Printing Company, 1920).

[142] Stonechild and Waiser, and Holm.

First Nations people participated in the Canadian military. Deloria's book affirms that we should not be surprised that First Nations people participated in cultural institutions that non-First Nations peoples deem modern, like the military. As Deloria asserts, First Nations worldviews are not static and developed alongside North American society. As such, First Nations peoples became active creators and participants in broader North American culture, enabling them to become entertainers, sports heroes, and lovers of modern technology. As stated by Deloria, "there were and are significant numbers of Indian anomalies, enough that we must rethink familiar categories."[143] In this way, we should not think of Six Nations participation in the military as an unexpected and isolated phenomenon, but rather as an aspect of their culture. As active participants in the military during the War of 1812, the Rebellions in 1836-1837,[144] the Fenian Raids in 1866,[145] and even the support the Six Nations showed the British Crown during the Anglo-Boer War,[146] the Grand River Six Nations continued their military participation within their existing cultural frameworks. When added to the participation of other Six Nations communities in Canada and the United States, including the Nile Expedition in 1885 and the New York and Wisconsin Six Nations communities during the United States Civil War, it can be clearly demonstrated that the idea of Six Nations military participation as per their alliance structures continued into the First World War.[147]

One aspect of Six Nations militarism that lay outside the organic evolution of Six Nations militarism can be found in residential schools. Although the Mohawk Institute was established in 1829 on the Grand River Territory for the education of Six Nations children, overt militaristic overtones did not begin until 1872 under the administration of Rev. Robert Ashton. Although the school would not have an official cadet corps recognized by the

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[143] Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 14.

[144] Charles M. Johnston, lxxvii-lxxviii and 228-231 and Roger Sharpe, *The Martial Spirit*, 74-85.

[145] Roger Sharpe, *Soldiers and Warriors*, 27-29.

[146] Evan J. Habkirk, "Canada's First Nations in the Anglo-Boer War," in *Empire from the Margins: Religious Minorities in Canada and the South African War*, edited by Gordon L. Heath (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications for McMaster Divinity Press, 2017), 148-152.

[147] For the Six Nations communities in New York and Wisconsin, these alliances were made with the United States government after the American Revolution.

Canadian government until 1909, Ashton used military authority structures, uniforms, drill, and good conduct badges[148] to re-socialize First Nations children into "civilized" Euro-Canadian society based on European concepts time, team work, fairness, and British and Canadian patriotism.[149] Archivally, Elizabeth Graham's book, *The Mush Hole*, will be used to document the administration of the school, while the ideas of Mark Moss will be used to note that this style of education was used to replace the traditional culture of these children with that of British Canada.[150] The theoretical framework proposed by John Bloom will also be used to show that through this supposed stifling of Six Nations militarism in favor of Euro-Canadian military systems, some students used this training and the cadet corps as a way of not only finding pride within themselves as individuals, but also to create a space where they could reconnect to their traditional First Nations identities and culture through military culture.[151] This retooling of the militaristic experiences they endured at Mohawk Institute could, therefore, readily be included into the Six Nations military traditions.[152]

Two Canadian military historians, Robert Rutherdale and Jonathan Vance, will also be used to understand the military and wartime culture of Canada and the political motivations of why First Nations people wanted to participate in the military. Robert Rutherdale's *Hometown Horizons* framework explains that in order to ascertain the effects military conflicts have on a community, the researcher must narrow the focus of their research to local cultural spaces, while also examining the effect policies from central administrating bodies, like the British and Canadian governments, had on the people of the local space.[153] Although these policies were designed to have a homogenizing effect on the people of Canada, local administrators implemented these policies to ensure they did not to affect local

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[148] Elizabeth Graham, *The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools* (Waterloo, ON: Heffle Publishing, 1997), 9, 23, 40, and 90.

[149] Evan J. Habkirk, "From Indian Boys to Canadian Men? The Use of Cadet Drill in the Canadian Indian Residential School System," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 30, 2 (2017): 232.

[150] Graham and Moss.

[151] John Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do: Sports at First Nations American Boarding Schools* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), xviii.

[152] Dempsey, 19.

[153] Robert Allen Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), xiii-xiv.

cultural practices. In this way, local spaces, like the Grand River Territory, would be part of Canada's larger war effort, but also an autonomous unit within the larger configuration of Canada.

It will be necessary to expand this framework, however, to address First Nations and Six Nations' specific issues, like sovereignty and nationalism. The Six Nations, unlike the non-First Nations communities Rutherdale used for his study, view themselves as allies of the Crown and as independent nations outside of the Canadian state due to their treaty relationship with the British Crown. Beginning in 1664 with the Treaty at Fort Orange/Fort Albany, this alliance relationship was strengthened in 1677 with the Covenant Chain relationship and was still in place prior to the Six Nations migration to the Grand River Territory in 1784 and 1785. Therefore, any policies issued by the British Indian Department or Canadian Department of Indian Affairs would be interpreted by the Six Nations Confederacy Council with this in mind. If any policy was viewed as an infringement on their rights and status as a separate nation, it would not be implemented or it would be implemented in such a way as to fit into their existing treaty relationship. By utilizing Rutherdale's idea about the uniqueness of all communities during conflicts, it can be demonstrated how cultural forces and complexities at play within the Six Nations community at Grand River inevitability led to their military participation on behalf of the British Crown.

This dissertation will also rely on the ideas proposed by Jonathan Vance in his book, *Death So Noble*, to understand Six Nations wartime and post-war realities. According to Vance, the First World War did not mark a departure in how Canadian society dealt with conflict. Instead, most Canadians used the same cultural tropes, ideas, and other familiar ceremonies and rituals found in pre-war society, like religious observances and public commemoration to understand their place in wartime. These pre-war ideas carried over into the post-war period. As noted by Vance, although their participation in the war gave First Nations people the confidence to act as equal participants in post-war Canada, the Canadian government and their Department of Indian Affairs, either wanted these First Nations veterans to become

Canadian citizens or return to the place they inhabited in Canadian society before the war.[154] This conflicted with First Nations veterans who challenged these ideas, causing a turbulent post-war for many First Nations communities across Canada.

As noted above, this project also involved active consultation with the Six Nations community on the Grand River Territory. Although there are archival and secondary sources dealing with Six Nations militarism, few were written from a First Nations perspective and therefore limited their voice. This process of community consulting to ensure the Six Nations voice was not neglected involved formal and informal meetings between Six Nations community members and knowledge holders from 2012 to 2018. During these meetings or through e-mail correspondence, articles of my written work were presented to members of the Six Nations community for scrutiny. They were free to question me, add community narratives for me to explore, or request I rethink my ideas on a subject. These meetings were augmented through public presentations of my work. Through the Woodland Cultural Centre and the Great War Centenary Association Brantford, Brant County, Six Nations (GWCA), I was asked to bring my and the GWCA's work, archives, and photographs to various public events. There, Six Nations community members were able to interact with information related to the First World War, sharing their stories and understandings of what various conflicts meant them, their community, and their family members, many of whom served in the First World War. This sharing of ideas was woven into the historical narrative I was able to find in the archive, giving the Six Nations a stronger voice in the presentation of their military history and wartime narrative. Though this type of consulting with Six Nations community leaders and academics, I have actively sought to ensure that the stories of this community, and the federal and provincial governments, are accurately balanced in my analysis.

1.4 Placing Myself Within a First Nations Research Paradigm

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[154] Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), 245-250.

As noted, non-First Nations scholars benefit from the aid of the community being researched in order to understand how First Nations people experienced this history.[155] Many non-First Nations scholars have also noted that creating a relationship with First Nations communities can be hard to do in the timeframe of a graduate degree.[156] Although this can be true, there are other ways to adequately approach this research in order to apply balance to the evidence collected for study. Combining theoretical frameworks from both military and First Nations history scholars help bridge this scholarly gap, adding a layer of nuance to the evidence that would have been missed without this approach. As noted by anthropologist Bruce G. Trigger and historian J.R. Miller, although the concepts of First Nations and Western history differ, the post-contact period occurred between two groups of active agents.[157] Similar to Deloria, Trigger and Miller understand that First Nations peoples were active agents that participated and shaped non-First Nations culture economically, diplomatically, and militarily.[158] In the post-contact period, both First Nation and non-First Nations people entered into symbiotic relationships with different motives, creating interconnected, but differing cultural

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[155] Vine Deloria Jr., "Anthropologists and Other Friends," in *Custer Died For Your Sins* (New York: Avon Books, 1969), 83-104; Anne Bishop, *Becoming an Ally: Breaking the Cycle of Oppression* (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Fernwood, Publishing, 1994); Donald L. Fixico ed., *Rethinking American Indian History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998); Richard T. Price ed., *The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties* 3rd ed. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1999); and Treaty 7 Traditional Knowledge Holders and Tribal Council with Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, and Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens Press, 1996). Also see the special issue of *American Indian Quarterly* 33, 4 (2009) on "Working from Home in American Indian History," guest edited by Susan M. Hill and Mary Jane Logan McCallum.

[156] Norman, 31-32. Other graduate students have told me the same. Although this is true, it is not impossible to do. I began volunteering with the Woodland Cultural Centre during the first year of my undergraduate degree and continued to do so for the next five years. I stopped working with them for the majority of my two-year M.A. degree. Once I graduated, I was hired as a consultant researcher for Richard W. Hill Sr. at Deyohahá:ge: Indigenous Knowledge Centre at Six Nations Polytechnic. Through Deyohahá:ge: I was able to rekindle my relationship with the Woodland Cultural Centre and branched out to other organizations like the Six Nations Genealogical Society and the Six Nations Public Library History Circle. These relationships have been in place for the entirety of my Ph.D. and continue today.

[157] J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens* 3rd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), xii; J.R. Miller, "Introduction," in *Reflections on First Nations-Newcomer Relations: Selected Essays* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 6; and Bruce G. Trigger, "Indians and White History: Two Worlds or One?," in *Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies*, edited by Michael K. Foster, Jack Campisi, and Marianne Mithun (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 24 and 32.

[158] Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens* 3rd ed., xii and Trigger, 24.

understandings of this history.[159] This does not mean, however, that both histories are the same. To use a Six Nations metaphor, First Nations and non-First Nations history is like the symbolism of the Two Row Wampum belt. The two parallel purple lines, representing Six Nations and non-Six Nations people, do not touch, but instead are connected by three lines of white wampum, representing peace, the Good Mind,[160] and eternal friendship.[161]

Figure 1: Two Row Wampum Belt, Copyright of the Woodland Cultural Centre

[159] J.R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 15; J.R. Miller, "'I can only tell what I know': Shifting Notions of Historical Understanding in the 1990s," in *Reflections on First Nations-Newcomer Relations: Selected Essays*, 72; and Trigger, 20.

[160] According to Haudenosaunee linguist and scholar Dr. David Kanatawakhon-Maracle, <david.kanatawakhon@uwo.ca> "Definition of "Good Mind," 26 June 2018, personal e-mail (accessed 26 June 2018), the Haudenosaunee concept of Good Mind is literally defined as "the positive interaction of human social/cultural intercourse." Haudenosaunee scholar Beverly Jacobs, "International Law/The Great Law of Peace" (M.A. Diss., University of Saskatchewan, 2000), 8, notes that the Good Mind is more than just being in a clear state of mind, but means "one must…think positively and live according to…positive realities." Further concurring with Kanatawakhon's definition of Good Mind, Jacob's cites another Haudenosaunee scholar, Freida Jean Jacques, "Discipline of the Good Mind," *Northeast Indian Quarterly* 8, 2 (1991): 31, who states that using the good mind "you…become aware of each thought, see its substance, realize its intent, [and] then direct that thought, either letting it go - as in negative thoughts, steeped in anger or hurt - or enrich them - thoughts based on a loving purpose, the Good Mind." Kanatawakhon agrees with this process of using the Good Mind (Ka'nikonhriyo), noting that -nikonhr- "refers to the spiritual interconnectiveness of all living things, often interpreted as mind, spirit, etc…, while the -iyo suffix refers to the positive aspect of the word to which it is attached, often interpreted as good, nice, pretty, beautiful…."

[161] Tehanetorens Fadden, *Wampum Belts of the Iroquois* (Summertown, Tennessee: First Nations Book Publishing Company, 1999), 74 and Tsionni Fox and the North American Indian Travelling College, *Covenant Chain* (North American Indian Travelling College, 1991).

Figure 2: Pledge of the Crown Wampum Belt, Copyright of Richard W. Hill Sr.

Although this defined the Six Nations and non-Six Nations relationship at initial contact, the post-War of 1812 period is best represented by the Pledge of the Crown Belt given to the Six Nations by the deputy superintendent general of the British Indian department, William Claus, at the end of the War of 1812. The inverted colour scheme and Greek key pattern shows that the Six Nations/non-Six Nations relationship is not as clear as it was when it was first proposed in the Two Row Wampum Belt. The two white rows of the Pledge of the Crown Belt, representing Six Nations and non-Six Nations people are now entangled, but again never touch, highlighting that the relationship noted in the Two Row Wampum Belt had not changed.[162] Like the Two Row Wampum, the Pledge of the Crown Belt can be used as a research model for studying First Nations and non-First Nations history: although happening at the same time and in the same geographic space, the two histories are intertwined, but due to opposing worldviews, are different. These seemingly separate histories, however were anchored together in a relationship based on peace, co-existence, and respect, connecting them into a common history. This is why I actively sought Six Nations input through the consultation process. Although I can understand and interpret most of the cross-cultural history created by both First Nations and non-First Nations people, some of the cultural nuances of Six Nations culture still need further explanation.

1.5 Outline of the Chapters

I have organized my chapters to tell both the histories of the Six Nations military alongside the popularization of the Canadian military and the ideas about First Nations people held by the non-First Nations public. I have broken my dissertation into three sections. The first

[162] Richard W. Hill Sr., 65.

section explores the evolving ideas surrounding the Six Nations military from the War of 1812 to the eve of the First World War, the second section examines how Six Nations militarism was displayed and understood up to and during the First World War, and the third section investigates how all of these ideas converged during and after the First World War. Chapter two begins the first section by exploring the traditional First Nations military before and during the War of 1812. Chapter three charts the popularization of the military in Canada after the War of 1812 and chapter four explores the ways the British and Canadian government tried to rid First Nations people of their military capabilities. Chapter five ends the first section, exploring the many times, from the end of the Rebellions in 1837 and 1838 to 1914, when the Six Nations participated in the Canadian military and how they, if understood it in a traditional Six Nations framework, showed that the Six Nations never forgot their military traditions in the face of policy changes issued by the British and Canadian governments.

Section two outlines the use of public displays of Six Nations military and how they informed people inside and outside the Six Nations community about their military heritage. Following the ideas of John M. Mackenzie, these displays impacted people's understanding of the traditional reasons Six Nations people participated in military conflicts on behalf of the British Crown. Chapter six explores celebrations of Six Nations loyalty to the British Crown. Although heavily organized by the non-Six Nations public, these events, from celebrations of Joseph Brant, the War of 1812, or other loyalist celebrations, informed both the Six Nations and non-Six Nations public of the loyalty the Six Nations had shown to the British Crown. Never being passive players during these celebrations, chapter seven examines Six Nations' use of these events, especially royal and vice-regal visits, to remind both their people and the British Crown of their alliance.

The third section explores the Grand River community from the outbreak of war in 1914 and into the post-war years. Chapters eight and nine explore the Six Nations response to the war and how, for Six Nations soldiers and people on the home front, their response was rooted in traditional frameworks that had been in place in previous conflicts from the War of 1812 to 1914. Chapter ten and eleven however, examines instances in which people from outside the Six Nations community, who believed that the Six Nations had assimilated into the Euro-

Canadian fold, used Six Nations material culture and incorrect ideas about their military traditions to recruit Six Nations people into the war effort. The final chapter explores the post-war realities of Six Nations people. This chapter will note the post-war conflicts that erupted between the Six Nations, Department of Indian Affairs, and Canadian government and show that the Six Nations did not lose sight of their traditional understandings of their place within and outside of Canada and, after the war, were more willing than ever to exhort them.

This dissertation fills a gap existing in Canadian history, which has not only neglected the evolution of First Nations militarism but also neglected the voices of First Nations peoples during this time period. Most military histories that include First Nations participation in military conflicts frame this participation as First Nations people contributing to the larger non-First Nations narrative of Canada. First Nations groups, including the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory, have a unique and evolved post-traditional military tradition that continued from the end of the War of 1812 to the First World War. They not only understood why they fought in various conflicts from the War of 1812 to the First World War, but they did so as active agents with clear understanding that their participation was different than the non-First Nations communities that surrounded them.

1.6 Implications of the Study

Although a study of the evolution of the Six Nations military, this thesis is also a study of the movement of the Six Nations from allies to wards in the eyes of the British and Canadian governments. With the establishing of their alliance with the British Crown trough the Two Row Wampum and later with the Silver Covenant Chain in 1677, the interests of the Six Nations and British were intrinsically linked and mutually protected, making their alliance a political and military matter.

As the British and Canadian government tried to reframe their relationship with the First Nations people of Canada, they were, in essence, changing not only their military, but treaty relationship. By making them wards instead of allies, the British and Canadian governments

created a national narrative that favoured Canadian settler society and marginalized First Nations people. As seen in chapters 4, 8 and 13, these treaty and military changes undermined First Nations peoples' place as allies within Canada and the British Empire. The reverberations of these changes can still be felt today as First Nations people across Canada try to apply their treaty rights to a growing and continuously deaf non-First Nations population in Canada. The frustration of trying to apply these treaty rights in the face of these competing narratives can be seen in Six Nations communities with violent conflicts erupting in Oka, Quebec, in 1990 and within the Grand River Territory at the town of Caledonia in 2006.

Through charting the physical and cultural changes in Six Nations militarism from the end of the War of 1812 to the end of the First World War, this study shows the continued resilience and dynamic power of the people of Six Nations as they abide by their understanding of their treaties with the British Crown, even if the British let their side of the alliance lapse. Never standing idly by, the Six Nations continued to push and share their understandings of their alliance with the non-Six Nations people living outside of their territory. These lessons and sharing of culture were either not heard, or worse, deliberately ignored, further privileging the Canadian narrative over that of the Six Nations. While it has yet to be seen whether these conflicting narratives can be brought into a single narrative, or at least be understood as two separate narratives linked by the relationship outlined by the Two Row Wampum, has yet to be seen. This thesis uses the Six Nations military and two events that have been heavily canonized in the Canadian national narrative, the War of 1812 and the First World War, as an entry point into a common understanding of differing worldviews. By showing the similarities and differences in the Six Nations and non-Six Nations understandings in these conflicts, this thesis tries to bridge this gap.

Chapter 2: Teaching the Role of Warrior

In a paper presented in 1909, Fredrick Loft, a member of the Six Nations and the Canadian militia, told the Canadian Military Institute, a private members' organization founded in the 1890s for the promotion of Canada's militia system in Canada, that stories of the Six Nations traditional military were still alive and well on the Six Nations Territory at Grand River. Loft also claimed that not only were the stories of pre-contact conflicts still passed on to Six Nations children, but also added to this were stories of Six Nations participation in post-contact conflicts, including Pontiac's War (1763-1766) and the War of 1812.[1] Although Loft gives examples of stories of past battles and some of the ideals these stories were to teach the children that heard them, he did not share what it meant to be a warrior or the warrior's role in Six Nations society.

2.1 Understanding Traditional Warriorship

Recent studies have explored Indigenous warriorship and connected the idea to Indigenous masculinities. These studies have noted that the Six Nations concept of "warrior" cannot be accurately translated into English. The closest translations are "carrying the burden of peace,"[2] "bearer of bones of the nation,"[3] or one who helps maintain or upholds the peace.[4]

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[1] Fredrick Onondeyoh Loft, "Militarism Among the Indians of Yesterday and To-day," *Selected Papers from the Canadian Military Institute*, 17 (1909): 38, 39, and 48.

[2] Sam McKegney, "Warriors, Healers, Lovers, and Leaders: Colonial Impositions on Indigenous Male Roles and Responsibilities," in *Canada Perspectives on Men and Masculinities: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, edited by Jason A. Laker (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012), 251 and Daniel David Moses, "Carrying the Burden of Peace," in *Masculindians: Conversations about Indigenous Manhood*, edited by Sam McKegney (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2014), 62.

[3] Tom Porter as cited in Kim Anderson, Robert Alexander Innes, and John Swift, "Indigenous Masculinities: Carrying the Bones of the Ancestors," in *Canadian Men and Masculinities: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by Christopher J. Greig and Wayne J. Martino (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2012), 270 and Olive Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from the Earliest Times* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2009), 26.

[4] Paul Williams and Curtis Nelson, "Kaswentha" in *For Seven Generations: An Information of Legacy for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, CD-ROM (Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, 1997).

Clearly the role of a warrior was not solely about fighting. According to Tom Porter, this role involves the carrying of teachings, songs, lessons from the natural and supernatural worlds, and knowledge of hunting, fishing, and plants.[5] Oneida scholar Bob Antone and Sto:lo scholar Lee Maracle agree that being a warrior was more than just fighting, but was about maintaining the community through ceremonial roles and responsibilities.[6] These responsibilities of Indigenous culture, like warfare, hunting, fishing, and otherwise providing the raw materials needed for the family, started and ended with ceremonies, anchoring these tasks to holistic worldviews of their people.[7] The role of being a man and warrior was to care and protect their community, whether by providing sustenance through hunting or by meeting with strangers and other people from outside of the community who may be a threat.[8] This role of community protection was part of a larger Six Nations concept of a split between the forest (the unknown), and the clearing/village (the known). As addressed earlier, the forest was the domain of men/warriors while everything in the clearing/village was the domain of women, including the raising of children and agriculture.[9] Once a person stepped out of the safety of village, their role changed from whatever it had been within the village to being a messenger, hunter, diplomat, and/or fighter.[10] As noted by James H. Merrell, the historical narrative of Europeans conquering Indigenous peoples and lands in North America was also the story of Indigenous people protecting their hunting and agricultural lands which in turn protected the viability of their villages and towns.[11]

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[5] Porter as cited in Anderson, Innes and Swift, 270-271.

[6] Porter as cited in Anderson, Innes, and Swift, 271; Bob Antone, "Reconstructing Indigenous Masculine Thought," in *Indigenous Men and Masculinities: Legacies, Identities, Regeneration*, edited by Robert Alexander Innes and Kim Anderson (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2016), 31 and 32; and Lee Maracle, "This is a Vision," in *Masculindians*, 32-33.

[7] Antone, 34.

[8] Antone, 27; Anderson, Innes, and Swift, 271; and Nigaanwewidam James Sinclair, "After and Towards: A Dialogue on the Future of Indigenous Masculinities," in *Masculindians*, 225.

[9] Williams and Nelson; Deborah Doxtator, "What Happened to the Iroquois Clans?: A Study of Clans in Three Rotinonhsyonni Communities" (Ph.D. diss., University of Western Ontario, 1996), 5; and Susan Marie Hill, "The Clay We Are Made Of: An Examination of the Haudenosaunee Land Tenure on the Grand River Territory" (Ph.D. diss., Trent University, 2006), 32 and 300.

[10] Williams and Nelson.

[11] James H. Merrell, "Second thoughts on Colonial Histories and American Indians," *William and Mary Quarterly* 69, 3 (2012): 469 and 470.

While historical and contemporary accounts make it clear that there were traditionally defined male and female roles within Six Nations society, recent scholarship has also noted that these divisions were more nuanced than once reported. Although some roles seemed to be prescribed according to gender, this was not always the case. For Six Nations people, it was about balance, not about which role belonged to whom.[12] There are instances within the historical record of men farming, usually a noted women's role, and women joining men in war. There was a time, however, in a boy's life, when he had to go with the men to be taught what was needed to take on male roles that contribute to the community, taking part in hunting, ceremonies, or military training.[13] This training focused on games, running, wrestling, jumping, playing ball (lacrosse), training the body, and decision making, to ensure that not only was the child fit for roles traditionally taken on by men (hunting and warfare), but also fit for political and spiritual roles they may take on as Chiefs.[14] Like other childrearing practices in First Nations cultures, training was non-coercive,[15] but was supposed to introduce the child to the kinds of roles needed for their community.

2.2 Teaching Warriorship through Stories and Ceremonies

When teaching the child about their potential military role, the main focus was the protection of the immediate and extended family.[16] In a Six Nations context, this included the child's

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[12] Porter in Anderson, Innes, and Swift, 269; Ellen Gabriel and Barbara Alice Mann as cited in *Masculindians*, 4; and Leah Snider, "Complementary Relationships: A View of Indigenous Gender Studies," in *Indigenous Men and Masculinities*, 63, 64, and 67.

[13] Anderson, Innes, and Swift, 272; Janice C. Hill, "Where are the Men?," in *Masculindians*, 17; Jacob Thomas with Terry Boyle, *Teachings from the Longhouse* (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing, 1994), 110; and Alex A. Goldenweiser, "On Iroquois Work" in *The Summary Report of the Geological Survey Branch of the Canadian Department of Mines* (Ottawa: Queens Printer, 1912 [1914]), 470.

[14] Mary Jemison, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jamison*, edited by James E. Seaver and June Namias (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992 [1824]), 97.

[15] Daniel Health Justice, "Fighting Shame Through Love," in *Masculindians*, 138. In Six Nations teachings, there is only one reference to using force to teach children and that is found in the Code of Handsome Lake. After all other options of correcting a child's behavior has been exhausted, the parent is instructed to us the medicine of the "red whip", striking the child with a medicinal plant.

[16] Anderson, Innes, and Swift, 276 and Sinclair, 225.

extended clan and national family, also linking their service to the entirety of the Six Nations Confederacy. The child would have also been taught the difference of fighting out of hate and fighting out of peace. Defining these two ideas, Cherokee scholar Daniel Heath Justice states, a warrior "is someone who fights the good fight with everything they can with love at the centre of their concern…anybody can fight with hate, but that is sometimes presupposes despair about what's coming. You fight with love, you're looking towards a future free of fighting…You fight with hate, all you see is the fight and then it becomes self-defeating." He further states as a peace warrior, a person is "looking for other alternatives and is paying attention to the particular kind of balance that peace requires."[17] In this way, a Six Nations warrior, although fighting, would always have their mind towards peace. It has also been noted that this mind set was valued by the community. The courage, selflessness, and civic duty warriors showed to their community granted these men status within their community.[18] The status of true warrior was that of a person who was able to ensure the safety of their men, minimizing casualties, and trying to ensure as many men came back to the community as possible.[19] Since taking the life of another living thing is a powerful event, the warrior, after completing this task, waited outside the village to ceremonially purify himself, as that negative energy needed to stay out of the village.[20]

Although some gendered roles noted in Six Nations culture had changed with the loss of the forest and clearing/village divide, the ideas behind them had not. This can be tracked through Loft's assertion that the children at Six Nations were still hearing the traditional stories of their ancestors. Using the notes of anthropologists and ethnologists, and through other retellings of traditional Six Nations stories, it can be seen that throughout the ninetieth- and twentieth-centuries, these traditional stories were alive and well and were still used to educate children. Beginning in the 1830s with David Cusick and into the 1850s and 1870s

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[17] Justice, 142.

[18] Kimberly Minor, "Material of Masculinity: The 1832 and 1834 Portraits of Mato-Tope, Mandan Chief," in *Indigenous Men and Masculinities*, 108 and 110.

[19] Minor, 106.

[20] Bob Antone, 34; Williams and Nelson; and W.M. Beauchamp, *Notes on David Cusick's Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations* (Fayetteville, New York: H.C. Beauchamp, 1892), 97.

with Lewis Henry Morgan and Horatio Hale,[21] these stories and oral traditions were recorded for a non-Six Nation audience. Although some were designed to stand as serious anthropological and ethnological endeavours,[22] others were turned into and relegated to children's stories by people outside of Six Nations culture.[23] Other stories have also survived this period of salvage anthropology and were recorded in the 1930-40s, and some as late as 1970s and 1990s.[24]

The stories that feature warriors or chronicle past conflicts of the Six Nations provide context for the lessons taught to Six Nations youths. Firstly, all versions of the union of the league of the Five (later Six) Nations note that prior to its formation, there was constant warfare and revenge killings. These conflicts stopped after the message of the Peacemaker brought the Five Nations together into a union which reframed the Six Nations warriors' mind to peace.[25] This and other stories and accounts also highlight team work and the protection of the home and family. As noted by Cornplanter, the Seneca war chief and diplomat,

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[21] David Cusick, *Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations* (Lewiston: David Cusick, 1827); H.E. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites and Hale on the Iroquois* (Ohsweken: Iroqrafts, 1989 [1881-1896]); and Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Iroquois* (Secaucus, New Jersey: The Citadel Press, 1975 [1851]).

[22] W.M. Beauchamp, *The Iroquois Trail, or Foot-Prints of the Six Nations, in Customs, Traditions, and History in which are included David Cusick's Sketches* (Fayetteville, New York: H.C. Beauchamp, 1892); J.N.B. Hewitt, "Era of the Formation of the Historic League of the Iroquois," *American Anthropologist* 7 (1894): 61-67; and Arthur C. Parker, *Parker on the Iroquois*, edited by William N. Fenton (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1975).

[23] Owahyah, *Birch Bark Legends of Niagara Founded on Traditions Among the Iroquois, or Six Nations* (Lockport, New York: Union Printing And Publishing Company, 1883); Egerton R. Young, *Stories from Indian Wigwams and Northern Campfires* (Toronto: Coles Publishing, 1970 [1893]); Erminnie A. Smith, *Myths of the Iroquois* (Ohsweken: Iroqrafts, 1989 [1883]); and Mabel Powers, *Stories the Iroquois Tell their Children* (New York: American Book Company, 1917) (www.gutenburg.org/files/22096/22096-h/22096-h.htm).

[24] J.J. Cornplanter, *Legends of the Longhouse* (Ohsweken: Iroqrafts, 1986 [1938]; Paul A.W. Wallace, *The White Roots of Peace* (Ohsweken: Iroqrafts, 1998 [1946]; Alma Greene, *Forbidden Voice: Reflections of a Mohawk Indian* (London: Hamlyn Publishing Group, 1972); Alma Greene, *Tales of the Mohawks* (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1975); *Legends of Our Nations* (Cornwall Island, ON: North American Indian Travelling College, no date); and Jacob Thomas with Terry Boyle, *Teachings from the Longhouse* (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing, 1994).

[25] Elias Johnson, *Legends, Traditions and Laws of the Iroquois, or the Six Nations, and the History of the Tuscarora Indians* (New York: AMS Press, 1978 [1881]); Cornplanter, *The Legends of the Iroquois told by "The Cornplanter"*, edited by William W. Canfield (Port Washington, New York: Ira J. Frieman Inc., 1971 [1902]), 34 and 40; and Beauchamp, *The Iroquois Trail, or Foot-Prints of the Six Nations, in Customs, Traditions, and History in which are included David Cusick's Sketches*, 5-6.

> no tribe can oppose the hordes of the north that threaten to come like the storms of winter, blasting and killing all in their path. Divided you can make no progress. You must unite as one common band of brothers. You must have one fire, one pipe, one war club. If your warriors unite, they can defeat any enemy and protect the safety of their homes.[26]

This theme is echoed in the recorded stories "The Great Mosquito" and "The Great Gift of Tobacco." In the story of "The Great Mosquito," all the Five Nations warriors come together to defeat giant mosquitoes that threatened their villages. After one warrior volunteers to sacrifice himself as bait, the other warriors defeat the mosquitoes with arrows and war clubs.[27] In the story of "The Great Tobacco," again, one warrior is sacrificed fighting two creatures. After hearing his cry, the other warriors quickly come to his aid defeating the creatures.[28] These stories also illustrate that warriors, when their minds are focused on the protection of the community, are willing to put themselves in harm's way, even as a sacrifice. This role of being a warrior and sacrificing yourself for the community was not limited to males. In the story, "The Sacrifice of Aliquipuso," after the warriors fought off enemy warriors long enough to evacuate the village to the safety of the mountains, they set up a trap where a woman, Aliquipuso, would lure the enemy warriors to the mountains. On her cry, the warriors would roll boulders down the mountainside, crushing all the enemy warriors and Aliquipuso.[29] If warriors were not able to protect the community by defeating whatever challenged them, it was also their role to go back to the community to warn them of the on-coming danger.[30] At the end of every story of warfare and violent conflict, the Six Nations gathered together to bury their weapons underneath the roots of a great tree, just as they had on the advice of the Peacemaker during the union of the Five Nations.[31] This practice was

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[26] Cornplanter, 145.

[27] Cornplanter, 59 and Tehanetorens, *Tales of the Iroquois* vols. 1 and 2 (Ohsweken: Iroqrafts, 1992), 72.

[28] Tehanetorens, *Tales of the Iroquois*, 60.

[29] Cornplanter, 99 and 101.

[30] Cusick, 19.

[31] Cornplanter, 163 and John Arthur Gibson, *Concerning the League: The Iroquois League Tradition as Dictated on Onondaga by John Arthur Gibson*, edited by Hanni Woodbury, Reg Henry, and Harry Webster (based on the Manuscript of A.A. Goldenweiser) (Winnipeg: Memoir 9 of Algonquin and Iroquois Linguistics, 1992), 449-450.

also followed by private individuals, as noted by Evelyn Johnson in her memoirs (written between 1927-1933),[32] and is still practiced by the Six Nations today.[33]

In studies of the Six Nations, anthropologists noted that, either through the Great Law handed down by Peacemaker, or through the message of Handsome Lake, the eighteenth-century Six Nations prophet, the idea of the Six Nations warrior as a peace warrior had not changed.[34] Looking into ceremonial dances, both Six Nations and non-Six Nations anthropologists noted that although these dances had been used for and by warriors, they were now used for other purposes. Six Nations anthropologist A.C. Parker noted two dances that were traditionally linked to war: The Sun Dance and the Wasaze (Wasase – the Thunder Dance honouring the spirit Hi'no). In his description, the Sun Dance "begins promptly at high noon, when three showers of arrows or volleys from muskets are shot heavenward to notify the sun of the intention to address him. After each of the volleys the populace shouts their war cries, 'for the sun loves war.'"[35] While performing the Wasaze (Thunder Dance), participants are supposed to sing their war songs as "Hi'no is supposed to delight in war songs and these are sung to please him."[36] During his fieldwork in 1912-1915, anthropologist Frederick Waugh also refers to this dance, although noted as no longer a war dance, but a rain-making ceremony.[37] In his description,

> When the speaker gets through [his recitation], the people go into the longhouse, with the exception of the warriors and the women with the water. As soon as the people have all got inside, the warriors give three cheers…Then the woman with the pail

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[32] Evelyn H.C. Johnson, *Memoirs* (Six Nations, Grand River Territory: Chiefswood National Historic Site, 2009), 78.

[33] Williams and Nelson.

[34] As noted by Cornplanter,18, "The doctrines expounded by him [Handsome Lake] did not displace any of the old ceremonies so dear to the heart of the Iroquois. In fact, he urged the observance of all the religious dances, saying they were pleasing to the Creator." Anthropologist Herbert Lewis ed., *Oneida Lives: Long Lost Voices of the Wisconsin Oneida* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 39n8, notes there was also a Mohawk prophet from Ontario who had a similar message to that of Handsome Lake, advocating a return to the old rituals of the Six Nations and abstaining from alcohol. Although his message was not accepted by all of the Six Nations, his message was popular among the Oneida located in the United States.

[35] Parker, *The Code of Handsome Lake*, 103n1 and A.C. Parker, "Iroquois Sun Myths," *Journal of American Folk Lore* (October-December 1910): 131.

[36] Parker, *The Code of Handsome Lake*, 104.

[37] Fred W. Waugh, *Iroquois Food and Food Preparation* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1916), 23.

> scatters water towards the warriors at the fire, using her hands for the purpose. The warriors now begin to dance, moving slowly towards the longhouse. The dancers sometimes whoop and shout very loudly, "like thunder," until they get into the longhouse.[38]

Waugh later notes that although this is called a war dance, due to Handsome Lake's influence and wanting to keep Six Nations people out of the wars of the British and the Americans, it is now a Thunder Dance.[39]

In 1949, anthropologist Frank Speck also noted changes in ceremonies that had been repurposed due to the message of Handsome Lake and his refocusing of the people of Six Nations to the peace found in the Great Law. With reference to the Sun Dance, Speck noted that the ceremony had changed to a "rite of prayer and thanksgiving" where "[t]he personal chants were tinged with the warrior's spirit."[40] Another ceremonial dance, the Skin Dance, was also affected by the message of Handsome Lake. Before his message to the people of Six Nations, "the Skin Dance was to afford an opportunity for the war chiefs and warriors to recount their war records and to discuss raids and cruelties inflicted upon other tribes. Handsome Lake condemned this type of performance and told the people they must give up the mention of their exploits and the evil deeds of the past and speak only of the wonders of creation."[41] According to Speck, a War Dance (Wasase) of any kind was only called "to make ceremonial friendship for a child who is sick when the medicine man prescribes a 'need for a friend' to give relief."[42] In his analysis, other ceremonies used for war, like the Eagle Dance, traditionally used for protection in war hunting, or from witchcraft, was now, like the game of lacrosse, "performed as a curative rite when requested by an individual."[43] The Clasping of Hands Dance, noted by Boyle and Speck during their field work, was also "danced by warriors to strengthen them against enemies and to serve as a medicine to shield

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[38] Waugh, 26.

[39] Waugh, 26n1. According to Waugh, 28, this dance and the ability to "turn thunderstorms" was also noted by David Boyle in his 1902 *Ontario Archaeology Report*.

[40] Frank G. Speck, *The Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Longhouse* (Ohsweken: Iroqrafts, 1987 [1949]), 136.

[41] Speck, 138.

[42] Speck, 60.

[43] Speck, 118 and 119.

the warriors before going to invade an enemy's country,"[44] was now used to link any two people for life especially to aid each other in times of distress, like when one of the two becomes sick.[45] In a critique of David Cusick's collection of Six Nations culture, William Beauchamp noted that another healing ritual, the Dream Feast, contained battle re-enactments, where some of the participants "come fully armed, and as if actually engaged in combat they went through the positions, the war cry, and skirmish, as when two armies meet each other."[46] Although these ceremonies became healing rituals, it was noted by Mary Jemison, a non-Six Nations woman who was adopted Seneca in 1755, that these dances were originally a means of handing down the military traditions of Six Nations to their children.[47]

At the crux of the message given to Handsome Lake through his divine messengers was that Six Nations people were not to participate in White men's wars. In his telling of the Code of Handsome Lake in the 1990s, Chief Jake Thomas states:

> The messenger said. "Look and watch closely in that direction, about the middle of the sky. So again he did look. He saw a white man pacing back and forth. He seemed to be angry about something. He was prodding the ground with a bayonet and wearing a red jacket or coat. The messengers said to him, "What do you see?" He replied, I saw a man and it seems he is angry about something. He is holding a bayonet or fork, and he is prodding the ground with it." Then the messengers said, "It is true what you saw. We think and feel that there will be many people who will die if he does not settle down. We are hoping he will change his mind. He is thinking of war. If war does start, tell your relations not to get involved in this conflict. We understand that there are two white brothers arguing, and the only way this will be settled is by war." The messengers continued, "Do not let your relations take sides. If they do, they will suffer and lose their homelands. So tell your chiefs not to let this happen to your people." This is how the messengers and Handsome Lake told it.[48]

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[44] Speck, 152.

[45] Speck, 152 and David Boyle, *Archaeological Report 1892: Being Part of Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education Ontario* (Toronto: Warwick Bros and Rutter, 1898), 182.

[46] W.M. Beauchamp, *Notes on David Cusick's Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations*, 123.

[47] Mary Jemison, 96.

[48] Thomas, 93-94.

The central message of Chief Thomas' telling of the Code of Handsome Lake was also recorded by anthropologist and Seneca man A.C. Parker during his field work in 1913,[49] making this teaching common knowledge among the Six Nations during the War of 1812 through to the First World War.

2.3 Peace Chiefs, Warrior Chiefs, and Warrior Roles in Six Nations Traditional Culture

In addition to dances, other traditional customs surrounding Six Nations warriors were recorded by A.C. Parker and other ethnographers and anthropologists. Parker noted that Six Nations women, in times of war or for long hunting trips, would, after boiling their corn bread, bake it so it would not mold.[50] Warriors were also known to carry a bag of parched corn flour with them when they went out on an expedition.[51] Anthropologist Fred Waugh wrote about a traditional warrior practice related to corn and fortunetelling. According to Waugh, a cob of corn would be placed on the edge of the fire by a warrior who was about to go to war. The warrior would leave the cob for an hour and, after he returned, if the cob had been entirely consumed by the fire, it signified that he would be killed in battle.[52] Waugh also explained that, in traditional Six Nations culture, dog, and later stag and bear meat, would be consumed as an offering to the Sun, the God of war, to ensure success in hunting and war.[53]

Parker, Boyle, John Arthur Gibson, and Alexander A. Goldenweiser also told the traditions surrounding warrior chieftainships, how they related to the founding of the Six Nations

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[49] Arthur C. Parker, *The Code of Handsome Lake, The Seneca Prophet* (Ohsweken: Iroqrafts, 2000 [1913]), 65-66.

[50] A.C. Parker, "Iroquois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants," in *Parker on the Iroquois*, edited by William N. Fenton (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1975), 69.

[51] Keith F. Otterbein, "Why the Iroquois Won: An Analysis of Iroquois Military Tactics," *Ethnohistory* 11, 1 (1964): 60.

[52] Fred W. Waugh, *Iroquois Food and Food Preparation* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1916), 41.

[53] Waugh, 133. W.M. Beauchamp, *The Iroquois Trail, or Foot-Prints of the Six Nations, in Customs, Traditions, and History in which are included David Cusick's Sketches*, 18, also notes the consumption of bear meat's relation to war.

Confederacy, and also their function in times of conflict. In the retelling of the Great Law, two peace chiefs of the Five Nations were given the dual role as warrior chiefs. According to Parker's version, a combination of the versions of the Great Law given by the Six Nations Confederacy at Grand River in 1900 and Six Nations member Seth Newhouse, the chiefly titles of Skanawatih and Thaharihhoken (Dekarihoken) were to remain warrior positions. It was Skanawatih's job to spread the Great Law to other nations. When other nations threatened the league, Skanawatih,

> shall address the head chief of the rebellious nation and request him three times to accept the Great Peace. If refusal steadfastly follows the war captain shall let a bunch of white lake shells fall from his outstretched hand and shall bound quickly forward and club the offending chief to death. War shall thereby be declared and the war captain shall continue until won by the Five Nations…Then shall the Five Nations seek to establish the Great Peace by a conquest of the rebellious nation.[54]

It was also Skanawatih's job to notify the War Chiefs if the Peace Chiefs declare war.[55] Thaharihhoken was to keep his mind open to both the needs of the Peace Chiefs and to war. According to Parker's version of the Great Law, "You, chief warrior, you have had power in warfare, but now this has changed. I now proclaim that since you had doubts, you shall be hereafter known in the land by the name of Tha-ha-rih-ho-ken (De-ka-ri-ho-ken), which means doubting or hesitating over two things as to which course to adopt."[56] According to David Boyle, these positions were only used in past wars when the Six Nations homelands were solely located in the United States.[57]

Goldenweiser's version of the Great Law was taken from the Chief John Arthur Gibson who was appointed by the Six Nations Confederacy at Grand River to lead the documentation of the Great Law in 1900. It gives more instruction as to the role these two Great Warriors were to play in the union of the Five Nations. According to Gibson and Goldenweiser, the Great

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[54] A.C. Parker, "The Constitution of the Five Nations of The Iroquois Book of the Great Law," in *Parker on the Iroquois*, edited by William N. Fenton (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1975), 9. Parker, 54, also notes that warriors will accompany the Chief into the foreign nation's territory and conceal themselves close by in case the chief is attacked.

[55] Parker, "The Constitution of the Five Nations of The Iroquois Book of the Great Law," 52.

[56] Parker, "The Constitution of the Five Nations of The Iroquois Book of the Great Law," 74.

[57] Boyle, 175.

Warriors were to act as Door Keepers. Although it was the Peacemaker's hope that the Great Law would spread to other nations, these same nations may also come to the Six Nations with ill intentions. It was the role of the Great Warriors to protect the Five Nations from these nations entering their territory.[58] The Peacemaker was also clear in his instructions that with the union of the Five Nations, control over war was no longer in the hands of the warriors, but with the united Confederacy Council. In his introduction to the Chiefs, the Peacemaker said, "everything, it has stopped, the slaughter and scalping and bloodletting of their own people, their own nations. So this is your work: as to all the clubs they use to kill people, when someone will take them and bury them in the earth, then peace will merge among the people."[59] He further instructed that "everything is getting swept from the hands of the warriors, everything concerning the war path; and now they are dismantling the paths they used to cross over the rivers and the swamps, and it is ending, the warpath."[60] If warriors were to be needed, restrictions were put on them. If a warrior was found guilty of killing people outside of war, raping, or stealing, it was up to the chiefs to find a peaceful resolution among the families affected. This was also the same in cases of murder. Following the Six Nations custom of giving wampum to condole the death of a person, in cases of murder, the murderer's family would present the family of the victim wampum beads as a sign of their apology for what their family had done. If the victim's family returned the beads to the murderer's family, the apology was not accepted, and the matter then be turned over to the Chiefs for consideration and to maintain peace. In extreme cases the Chiefs could appoint another person to replace the person who was lost.[61] Again, keeping their minds on peace, Paul Williams asserts that the worst punishment in Six Nations culture was banishment from the village, where the banished person would have to survive without the help of the community. This way, the Six Nations avoided controlling people by killing them, which went against the Great Law.[62]

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[58] Gibson, 314-318.

[59] Gibson, 360-361.

[60] Gibson, 372-373.

[61] Mary Jemison, 150 and Gibson, 455-457. This would evolve to the Six Nations principal of, after taking prisoners in war, adopting them as members of the families who lost family members in the conflict.

[62] Williams and Nelson, and Beauchamp, *David Cusick's Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations*, 84.

According to Paul Williams and Curtis Nelson in their report written for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People in 1997, the concept of peace found in the Great Law was clear: "the Great spirit never planned for humans to hurt one another or to slaughter one another."[63] Although simple in concept, its practical application seems to be twofold. First, with the abandonment of all weapons under the great tree, there was supposed to be no more bloodshed or war. As noted above, however, there is also imbedded in the Great Law, and the historical record, the concept of peace being spread by war. This duality of peace also complicates the idea of what a warrior was in Six Nations culture. Were warriors a standing military force, or were they something else? The colonial record about First Nations peoples seems to paint any male who was not a chief to be a warrior. Williams and Nelson conclude, while dismissing this colonial definition, that the position of warrior probably did exist, as there were wars, but this title, as noted by Tom Porter above, had other traditional and ceremonial aspects connected to it.[64]

After conflict, the people and warriors of the defeated nation still had political autonomy. Again, noted by Parker, although members of a foreign and conquered nation did not have a speaking or voting role in the Five Nations Council, unless a question is asked to them,[65] if they accept "the Great Peace their system of internal government may continue, but they must cease all warfare against other nations."[66] It has also been noted that in order to replenish their population lost during conflicts, the Six Nations were also in the practice of adopting the people taken as prisoners during their various wars.[67] Also illustrated in many Six Nations stories, and confirmed by Parker: the Six Nations warrior choice to fight was voluntary.[68] Although it has been noted by scholars that for young men, participation in war

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[63] Williams and Nelson.

[64] Williams and Nelson.

[65] Parker, "The Constitution of the Five Nations of The Iroquois Book of the Great Law," 33 and 52.

[66] Parker, "The Constitution of the Five Nations of The Iroquois Book of the Great Law," 52.

[67] Richter, 537 and Williams and Nelson. Williams and Nelson also note that some non-Six Nations historians viewed this adoption process as a way to continue to fuel their wars by bringing new warriors into their population.

[68] Parker, "The Constitution of the Five Nations of The Iroquois Book of the Great Law," 84.

and hunting parties increased the stature of the warrior in society,[69] it was up to the individual whether or not they wanted to participate.

Leaders of a war party had clearly defined roles and responsibilities. For most Indigenous peoples, the goal was to limit casualties.[70] This was done two ways: the first was to never participate in a war with an enemy if there was no chance of success.[71] If victory was uncertain, or the Six Nations could not come to one mind on whether they should participate in the war, the Council would declare neutrality. The second way was found in tactics: Six Nations war parties excelled in defensive tactics. War parties used ambush, surprise attacks – especially on villages whose warriors were absent from the town. The focus of these attacks was to inflict maximum damage on the enemy while limiting the possible toll taken on Six Nations troops. This is reflected in the practical decision by Six Nations troops not staging an attack on fortified positions or fight an enemy that outnumbered you. These tactics became more important to the Six Nations when the deadlier musket and other firearms began to replace the traditional weapons of clubs, bows, and arrows.[72] Highlighting their need to keep their minds on peace, Peace Chiefs of the Six Nations could not go to war. Peace Chiefs can recommend the Six Nations go to war, but once this recommendation is accepted, the Peace Chiefs handed all of the aspects of war to the War Chiefs.[73] If any Peace Chief wanted to participate in the war, they had to hand their titles back to the clan mothers. Although Parker maintains that clan mothers may temporarily appoint another chief for the duration of the war and, once the war is over, the chief can come back into council to resume his previously held

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[69] Minor, 99 and 108, and Daniel K. Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," *William and Mary Quarterly* 40, 4 (1983): 530.

[70] Minor, 106 and Richter, 563.

[71] Williams and Curtis and Beauchamp, *The Iroquois Trail, or Foot-Prints of the Six Nations, in Customs, Traditions, and History in which are included David Cusick's Sketches*, 6. Beauchamp, 16, also notes that the teaching of military tactics to the Six Nations was divinely inspired: "The Holder of the Heavens visited the Five Families and instructed them in the arts of war and favors them to gain the country beyond their limits, after which he disappeared."

[72] Beauchamp, *The Iroquois Trail, or Foot-Prints of the Six Nations, in Customs, Traditions, and History in which are included David Cusick's Sketches*, 6; Richter, 563 and 537; and Williams and Nelson.

[73] Williams and Nelson.

role,[74] Tom Porter disagrees, claiming the chief may not return to his previously held position if they have taken another's life.[75] Whatever the understanding regarding Peace Chiefs and War Chiefs going to war, what can be seen is the respect that a War Chief and Warrior had in Six Nations society and culture. Even during their funeral rites, War Chiefs and Warriors had their own addresses, with the speaker stating, in the case of the death of a War Chief, "Now we become reconciled as you start away. You were once a war chief of the Five Nations' Confederacy and the United People trusted you as their guard from the enemy", and in the case of Warrior, "Now we become reconciled as you start away. Once you were once a devoted provider and protector of your family and you were ever ready to take part in battles for the Five Nations' Confederacy. The United People trusted you."[76] These roles were important to the survival of the Six Nations from their formation into a league and into the twentieth-century.

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[74] Parker, "The Constitution of the Five Nations of The Iroquois Book of the Great Law," 52.

[75] Tom Porter, "Traditions of the Constitution of the Six Nations," *in Pathways to Self Determination*, edited by Leroy Little Bear Mino Bolt, and J. Anthony Long (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 21.

[76] Parker, "The Constitution of the Five Nations of The Iroquois Book of the Great Law," 58.

Chapter 3: Colonial Influences and Six Nations Military Traditions

As the Six Nations participated in colonial conflicts throughout the 1600 and 1700s, stories about their military grew. When discussing what stories were told at Grand River in 1909, Fred Loft explained to the audience at the Canadian Military Institute that traditional stories were now shared alongside those of other First Nations and Six Nations military leaders including King Philip, Pontiac, Joseph Brant, Red Jacket, and Tecumseh.[1] These stories contained new information about the way in which Six Nations people fought with advances in military technology. As mentioned earlier, the introduction of the musket produced many changes in the way the Six Nations traditionally fought.[2]

Loft also says that these stories constructed a Six Nations national narrative in the face of a larger dominant colonial society.[3] Although Six Nations still had confidence in the treaties they signed with the British,[4] there seemed to be a need to remind Six Nations and non-Six Nations people that not only were there the stories from the 1600 and 1700s relating to Six Nations military in support of their treaty relationship with the British, but there were also stories that pre-dated this military tradition, and even some, like those of Pontiac, Red Jacket, and King Philip where some Six Nations people fought against the British. These stories place the Six Nations as equals to the British and contain a political edge.

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[1] Fredrick Onondeyoh Loft, "Militarism Among the Indians of Yesterday and To-day," *Selected Papers from the Canadian Military Institute*, 17 (1909): 39.

[2] P. Whitney Lackenbauer, John Moses, R. Scott Sheffield, and Maxime Gohier, *A Commemorative History of Aboriginal People in the Canadian Military* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2009), 3 and John Moses, Donald Graves, and Warren Sinclair, *A Sketch Account of Aboriginal Peoples in the Canadian Military* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2004), 4. Before the introduction of the musket, scholars have noted that Six Nations were known to fight in a line formation, similar to that practiced by European armies in the 1700s and 1800s, with arrows and war clubs. The introduction of the musket changed these to defensive tactics in order to limit casualties.

[3] Loft, 48 and 49.

[4] Loft 49.

3.1 Influences on Six Nations Military Service in the War of 1812

Recounted in traditional Six Nations culture today are the many instance during which the Six Nations allied with the British Crown as equals beginning with the Two Row Wampum belt and Covenant Chain (later the Silver Covenant Chain in 1677).[5] This relationship was strengthened in 1679 and 1684 when Six Nations and the British agreed to the mutual protection of Six Nations land.[6] The Proclamation of 1763 further safeguarded Six Nations land from non-First Nations encroachment. Stories of the Treaty of Niagara on 19 February 1764, would have informed the Six Nations that, through Sir William Johnson, the British and Six Nations entered formally into an offensive and defensive military alliance; the Six Nations would be provided arms and ammunition if ever war was declared.[7] Oral histories of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix on 26 October 1768 recount that Sir William Johnson had again renewed the Silver Covenant Chain with the Six Nations.[8] This treaty also strengthened the alliance between the Six Nations and the Indigenous nations of the Mississippi, who would unite against the Americans in the 1790s and again during the War of 1812.[9]

These stories mentioned by Loft noted strategic changes in Six Nations warfare. With the incorporation of muskets into the Six Nations order of battle, the Six Nations adapted new ideas to their old tactics. Again, relying mostly on surprise and defensive tactics, Six Nations troops confined themselves to small raids and ambushes of long lines of snipers, again

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[5] According to legal scholars Paul Williams and Curtis Nelson, "Kaswentha," in *For Seven Generations: An Information of Legacy for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, 1997): CD-ROM, the metaphoric description of the Covenant Chain between the British and Six Nations had three phases. At first the chain was said to be made of rope, but rope could rot and break. The chain was then said to be made of iron. Being strong, iron would keep both the British and Six Nations connected to each other, but it could be weakened by rust and break. By the 1680s, the chain was said to be made of silver. Although a soft metal, the silver chain meant the British and Six Nations would remain connected, but would also need to be revisited and "polished" their agreement to ensure the chain stayed strong and bright.

[6] Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972), 27.

[7] Williams and Nelson.

[8] Graymont, 48.

[9] Williams and Nelson.

decreasing the chance of death, while also ensuring great loss to their enemies.[10] With the increase of armed conflict, especially during the Mourning Wars of the eighteenth-century when warfare increased between First Nations people due to the fur trade and other colonial encroachments, Six Nations also adopted more people to keep their population from shrinking, meaning their forces did not decline.[11] Through the continuation and modification of traditional tactics and ideas with the new technological advances, the Six Nations were able to prevail in the colonial period.[12] As noted by Haudenosaunee scholar Rick Monture, although this and other styles of warfare "were vastly different than those experienced by the Haudenosaunee in pre-contact times, the traditional concepts of peaceful nations having to protect the balance that exists between right and wrongful human behaviour still remained."[13]

These stories also contained narratives from the American Revolution and the War of 1812. The people of Six Nations could recall stories from the Revolutionary War including the Clinton-Sullivan Campaign of 1779-1780 and even instances where their militaries acted against the Great Law and fought and killed each other at the battle of Oriskany during the American Revolution,[14] and the battles of Lewiston and Chippawa during the War of 1812.[15] These painful memories would have also been tempered by stories of when the Six Nations determined their own terms of service as allies to the Crown, whether it be during the various times the Six Nations avoided or aided in war with the British before and during the American Revolution,[16] or during the War of 1812. Following their customs, the Six Nations first declared neutrality to General Isaac Brock before the outbreak of the War of 1812, but

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[10] Daniel K. Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience" *William and Mary Quarterly* 40, 4 (1983): 537 and Keith F. Otterbein, "Why the Iroquois Won: An Analysis of Iroquois Military Tactics," *Ethnohistory* 11, 1 (1964): 60-61.

[11] Richter, 557 and Otterbein, 60.

[12] Otterbein, 61.

[13] Rick Monture, *We Share Our Matters: Two Centuries of Writing and Resistance at Six Nations of the Grand River* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2014), 135.

[14] Graymont, 142 and 196-197.

[15] Richard W. Hill Sr., *War Clubs and Wampum Belts: Hodinohso:ni Experiences in the War of 1812* (Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 2012), 53-54 and 57 and Lee Simmonson, *Tuscarora Heroes: The War of 1812 British Attack on Lewiston, New York December 19, 1813* (Lewiston, New York: Historical Association of Lewiston, 2011).

[16] Williams and Nelson.

later joined the war at the Battle of Queenston Heights. They would later taper their involvement in the war by the end of 1813.[17] At the end of the war, the Six Nations even made their own peace, meeting twice, once to make peace with their brother nations residing in the United States and again in Burlington to hand over the affairs of the Six Nations from the War to the Peace Chiefs.[18]

3.2 Post 1812 and Subduing Six Nations Militarism

After the War of 1812, bureaucratic and ideological changes between the United States and British Canada affected the performance of the Six Nations military. These changes affected how life was structured within the Grand River Territory. One of the largest changes was the creation of the border between Canada and the United States. Although the signing of the Treaty of Ghent in 1814 noted the border's boundaries, it was not until the British and Americans signed the Rush/Bagot Treaty in 1817, demilitarizing the Great Lakes region between the Canadian and United States, that this border became a real device used to control movements and cultural and political ideas. For the Six Nations, this would first be felt in their education system.

From 1814 to the 1840s, the Upper Canadian government promoted the use of textbooks written in Great Britain or Canada, like the Irish National reader series, to combat the spread of political/religious ideas found in U.S. texts, especially those promoted by the U.S. Methodist church.[19] By 1820s, both the Anglican New England Company and the U.S. Methodist Church were working within the Grand River Territory. Although both were working to educate and convert Six Nations people to Christianity, they seemed to have a

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[17] Richard W. Hill Sr., 35, 43-44, and 59-62 and Rick Monture, 57.

[18] Williams and Nelson.

[19] Scott McLaren, "Anti-British in Every Sense of the Word? Methodist Preachers, School Libraries, and the Problem of American Books in Upper Canada, 1820-1860," *Historical Papers of the Canadian Society of Church History* (2013): 55, 56, 57, and 58.

strained working relationship well into the late 1860s.[20] Fighting the Americanization of teaching in Upper Canada, the New England Company even refused to hire American teachers in their schools at Grand River until the 1850s,[21] preferring their teachers to be British subjects, hoping that they could curb political sentiments that countered British rule.[22] This issue became of critical importance during and after the Rebellions in 1837-38.

By teaching the children of Six Nations only lessons derived from the British point of view, it was hoped that the nucleus of British-Canadian nationalism would grow within Canada and at Grand River. Although the debate over the use of American textbooks seemed to subside by the 1850s,[23] the New England Company schools continued to use only Canadian and British textbooks in their schools at Grand River.[24] By mid-century, many of these text books contained lessons about the image and idealization of the British soldier. Beginning with the Crimean War (1853-1856), the British soldier began a transformation from the image of "the filth of the earth" soldier found in the British army during the Napoleonic Wars, to the idea of "the soldier saint."[25] This change was fueled by the new concept of volunteerism, the idea that instead of forcing people to become soldiers, people should want to volunteer and serve their nation. Post-Crimean War literature mixed religious overtones with the image of the soldier, making Christian and military values one and the same. By the time of the Indian Revolt in 1858, this soldier/saint tradition was complete.[26] Unfortunately, texts about the Indian Revolt were also rooted in ideas about martial race theory. This theory states that some non-Europeans peoples are natural fighters and warriors and is longstanding settler-

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[20] Keith Jamieson, *History of Six Nations Education* (Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 1987), 7. From 1828-1869, the Methodist school is not mentioned in the New England Company reports.

[21] *New England Company Report 1849-1858*, 23.

[22] *New England Company Report 1828-1829*, 11.

[23] McLaren, 70.

[24] *New England Company Report 1869-1878*.

[25] Olive Anderson, "The Growth of Christian Militarism in mid-Victorian England," *English Historical Review* 86 (1971): 47 and Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1991), 115.

[26] Anderson, 48 and 52.

colonial stereotype that Six Nations and other First Nations in Canada still have to fight against today.[27]

3.3 Colonial Changes in Military Organization

Other changes to the British and Canadian military heightened public consciousness both about local regiments and the idealization of the British soldier. Beginning with the reforms to the British military by British Secretary of State of War Edward Cardwell from 1868 to 1871, and continued by fellow Secretary of State of War Hugh Childers in 1881, non-regular force British military units became localized, developing local customs, habits, codes of behaviours, and dress.[28] These changes directly affected how the Six Nations and the rest of Canada would interact with their military. The biggest change was locating the recruitment of a regiment out of a single geographic area. Although this did not always come to fruition, by tying a regiment to a specific geographic area, the regiment became part of the region's social fabric. Activities like parades gave the people of the area an opportunity to see *their* regiment.[29] This local attachment continued into the public sphere with the regiments depositing their colours at local churches, through local newspaper coverage, local celebrations held when soldiers from the regiment returned from service, and with the formation of veterans' associations to support ex-service members and their families in times of need.[30] This localization of regiments was also aided by a boom of print media in Britain and Canada.

Falling in line with these reforms, and due to its cost effectiveness, soldiers printed their own regimental journals. Other religious and secular publications for children and adults also joined in the public celebration of the volunteer soldier and began promoting a 'cult of

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[27] Timothy C. Winegard, *For King and Kanata: Canadian Indians and the First World War* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), 30.

[28] David French, *Military Identities: The Regimental System, the British Army, and the British People c.1870-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 77.

[29] French, 45 and 90.

[30] French, 80, 238, and 244.

personality' surrounding British military heroes.[31] Everything from cigarette, tea, and biscuit packages had British Imperial and military images on their packaging. These images were even found on children's toys and board games.[32] Entertainment even had Imperial overtones, with sheet music, theatrical performances, and Imperial exhibitions promoting the British worldwide Imperial and military mission.[33] This blurring of lines between the military and public spheres extended throughout the British Empire and found a willing home in Canada.

Although these reforms influenced Canadian military policy, historians have readily noted that Canada already had a localized military tradition, whether the regiments were British regulars or Canadian militia.[34] With the British pulling their regular forces from Canada in 1870, militia reforms were essential for the growth and establishing faith in Canada's underfunded militia system and further brought the idea of the soldier saint into the social consciousness. As can be seen in Chapter 5, these reforms would be repeated in the Grand River Territory. After the War of 1812, Upper Canada continued the militia system that was in place prior to the war. As noted by James W. Paxton, annual militia musters were social gatherings for different communities. For the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory and the surrounding non-First Nations community, these became times not only for the minimal drill required to be done by the militia, but also a time to share stories of past military engagements, especially those in which the two communities participated together, like the American Revolution and the War of 1812.[35] Prior to the *Militia Act* of 1855, the militia system required that all male citizens, aged 18 to 60, in a designated military district, parade

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[31] French 82, 83, 84, 86, and 87; John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of the British Public Opinion 1880-1960* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1984), 16 and 18; Robert H. MacDonald, "Reproducing the Middle-Class Boys: From Puberty to Patriotism in the Boys' Magazines, 1892-1914," *Journal of Contemporary History* 24, 3 (1989): 519-539; and Gordon L. Heath, "'Prepared to do, prepared to die': Evangelicalism, Imperialism, and Late-Victorian Canadian Children's Publications," *Perichoresis* 9, 1 (2011): 4-26.

[32] MacKenzie, 25, 26, and 28.

[33] MacKenzie, 30, 49, 58, 104, and 110.

[34] Robert Vineberg, "The British Garrison and Montreal Society, 1830-1850," *Canadian Military History* 21, 1 (2012): 3-16.

[35] James W. Paxton, "Merrymaking and Militia Musters: Mohawks, Loyalists, and the (Re)Construction of Community and Identity in Upper Canada," *Ontario History* 102, 2 (2010): 220-221.

once a year. The 1855 *Militia Act* brought about the same voluntary principles to the Canadian militia thirteen years before the reforms proposed by Cardwell and Childers in Britain. This did not, however, completely erase the non-voluntary (sedentary) militia. The two systems ran parallel to each other with, by 1856, two scales of volunteer militia classes (class A and class B) being called out to drill more frequently, and the sedentary militia still forming annually for drill.[36] Although the militia acts from 1868-1904 recognized that in cases of *Levee en Masse*, the mass calling out of all men aged 18-60 to defend Canada,[37] the 1868 *Militia Act* advocated for increased frequency of training for both the voluntary and sedentary militia to "a period not exceeding sixteen nor less than eight days.[38] The 1883 *Militia Act*, not differentiating between voluntary or sedentary militia, brought an end to the two-tiered militia system, but allowed the creation of rifle associations for the purpose of military training and target practice for civilians. The Minister of Militia from time to time could also accept the services of people volunteering a corps of militia.[39] This was further added on to in the 1904 *Militia Act*. Again, there was no two-tiered militia system; however

> When men are required to organize or complete a corps at any time, either for training or for an emergency, and enough men do not volunteer to complete the quota required, the men liable to serve shall be drafted by ballot; but at no time shall more than one son belonging to the same family residing in the same house, if there are more than one inscribed on the Militia roll, will be drawn, unless the number of the names so inscribed is insufficient to complete the required proportion of service men."[40]

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[36] Roger Sharpe, *Soldiers and Warriors: The Early Volunteer Militia of Brant County, 1856-1866* (Brantford: Canadian Military Heritage Museum, 1998), 10 and 11.

[37] *An Act Respecting the Militia and Defence of the Dominion of Canada*, Statues of Canada Passed in the Session held in the Thirty-First Year of the Reign of her Majesty Queen Victoria, Being the First Session of the First Parliament of Canada (Ottawa: Malcolm Cameron (Queens Printer), 1868), 64; *An Act Consolidating and Amending the Several Acts Relating to the Militia and Defence of the Dominion of Canada*, Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Passed in the Session held in the 45th and 46th Years of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Being the Third Session of the Twenty-Second Parliament of the United Kingdom (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin (Queens Printer), 1883), 62; and *An Act Respecting the Militia and Defence of Canada*, Act of the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada Passed in the Session held in the Fourth Year of the Reign of His Majesty King Edward VII. Being the Fourth Session of the Nineteenth Parliament (Ottawa: Samuel Edward Dawson (Kings Printer), 1904), 164.

[38] *An Act Respecting the Militia and Defence of the Dominion of Canada* (1868), 77.

[39] *An Act Consolidating and Amending the Several Acts Relating to the Militia and Defence of the Dominion of Canada*, 81 and 67.

[40] *An Act Respecting the Militia and Defence of the Dominion of Canada* (1904), 168.

Further, not only were rifle associations also allowed for civilians, but

> In case of emergency the members of rifle associations and clubs shall become members of the Militia and shall be under the command of the District Officer Commanding…and until lawfully discharged all members of such associations and clubs shall remain members of the Militia, and shall be subject to drill, training and discipline to the same extent as other members thereof.[41]

Although keeping the militia as a locally supported system, there were still varying degrees in which people could serve. In Ontario, the call for volunteer companies, although experiencing periods of booms and busts, was taken up enthusiastically. From 1851-1860, Brant County, located just outside the Grand River Territory, offered at least thirteen volunteer militia companies to the Canadian government, while also having other non-governmentally recognized militia companies operating alongside those that were officially sanctioned.[42] As will be seen in Chapter 5, similar volunteer and independent companies of troops would also be found within the Grand River Territory.

3.4 In Hearts and Minds: The Military in Canadian Social Conscience

As in Britain, these bureaucratic reforms manifested themselves into the social consciousness of Canadian citizens and became known as the Militia Myth. Alongside the increase in Imperial print media and realizing that Canada could not afford a large full-time army like that of Britain, the Canadian government relied on a militia made up of civilians. Using a constructed military history, the Militia Myth was predicated on the idea that before the British left in 1871, Canada had always been defended by its militia and citizenry.[43] The history of the myth begins with the way that descendants of United Empire Loyalists, those who moved to the Canadas after the American Revolution, wanted to remember the War of

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[41] *An Act Respecting the Militia and Defence of the Dominion of Canada* (1904), 174.

[42] Roger Sharpe, *Soldiers and Warriors* (Brantford: Canadian Military Heritage Museum, 1998), 10 and 83-90.

[43] James Wood, *Militia Myths: Ideas of the Canadian Citizen Soldier, 1896-1921* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press), 3.

1812. Minimizing the role played by British regular troops and their First Nations allies, the myth is centered around the notion that it was the militia and the citizens of Canada that defeated the American invasions into British Canada.[44] Adding to this myth was the fact that from the Siege of Quebec during the Seven Years War through to the Fenian Raids in 1866, the majority of forces used to defend Canada, on paper at least, had always been that of the citizen soldier and militia.[45] Since in the public's mind the militia had always defended Canada, it could continue do so without the British. This idea grew in the Canadian consciousness with the victories over Louis Riel in 1885 and the British need for Imperial troops after the disastrous opening months of the Second Anglo-Boer War in 1899. Further, this led many to believe that not only were Canadian militiamen better soldiers than their British regular counterparts, but part-time soldiers, due to their training, became better citizens through their demonstrated loyalty to both Canada and the British Empire.[46]

During the Confederation debates, the U.S. Civil War was used by Canadian politicians as an example of the effect a well-trained citizen militia could have. In an 1864 speech at the Halifax Hotel in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Sir John A. MacDonald instructed the delegates in attendance to:

> Look at the gallant defence that is being made by the Southern Republic – at this moment they are not much more than four millions of men – not much exceeding our own numbers – yet what a brave fight they have made, notwithstanding the stern bravery of the New Englander, or the fierce élan of the Irishman…in the next decennial period of taking the census, perhaps we shall have eight millions of people, able to defend their country against all comers.[47]

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[44] Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 105.

[45] Wood, 5.

[46] Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001), 23; Stephen M. Miller, "In Support of the 'Imperial Mission': Volunteering for the South African War 1899-1902," *The Journal of Military History* 69, 2 (2005): 693; and Mike O'Brian, "Manhood and the Militia Myth: Masculinity, Class, and Militarism in Ontario, 1902-1914," *Labour/La Travail* 42 (1998): 117, 120, and 121.

[47] John A. MacDonald as cited in Brian Busby, *Great Canadian Speeches: Words that Shaped a Nation* (London: Arcturus Publishing Limited, 2008), 11 and Adam Mayers, *Dixie and the Dominion: Canada, the Confederacy and the War for the Union* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2003), 98.

Similarly, during the debates over the 1868 *Militia Act*, George-Etienne Cartier, the Minister of Militia, used the Confederate forces as an example for a trained civilian militia when he stated,

> Looking at the way in which the four millions of Southern whites are famishing, where 400,000 fighting men had defended their country for four years against twenty-four millions of the north who had put into the field during the war 2,600,000 men, we would be in a far better position to meet the difficulty than the Southerners, if it should be our misfortune to face an invasion even from the American nation, for we would have 700,000 of our own fit to bear arms besides having the whole power of England at our back and the sea open to us.[48]

From 1870 onwards, the myth continued. After the U.S. Civil War, the power of the united American army was presented not only as reason for a united militia system, but also for a confederated Canada. Author Adam Mayers has noted that, in their speeches, no less than sixty members of the United Canada's Legislature made reference to the possible military danger the United States posed to Canada at that time.[49] With the Fenian Raids, John A. Macdonald and others used the threat of foreign invasion to unite Canada, bringing together 37,170 volunteer and 618,896 and sedentary militia men across Canada.[50] As noted by Desmond Morton, however forceful these numbers looked on paper, the reality was, due to poor training, this force could hardly be relied upon.[51]

Public support became just as important to the success of militia as training. This was evident in coverage and support during the Riel Resistance. Although the Canadian press covered larger political issues surrounding the resistance, no fault was placed on the Canadian militia that was sent to crush the resistance and make war with First Nations people.[52] Echoing the idea of the soldier saint, the Northwest Resistance saw the establishment of "the cult of the Honour Roll" in Canada, with every church, school, and community taking note of how

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[48] First Reading of a Bill Respecting the Militia and Defence of the Dominion of Canada, 31 March 1868 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer: 1868), 7.

[49] Mayers, 193.

[50] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada* 5th ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart), 90.

[51] Morton, 90.

[52] Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L. Robertson, *Seeing in Red: A History of First Nations in Canadian Newspapers* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011), 64, 68, 81, and 75.

many from their community enlisted, fought, and died in a conflict. This not only memorialized their sacrifice, but also highlighted which group or community was more loyal. This movement would also be revived for the British fight against the Boer republics during the Second Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902.[53] Honour Rolls and press coverage also put faces to the men of the local militia company, making the militia a place for young men to excel in their personal and professional lives. As city or town leaders became officers, the men of the militia now had direct access to these leaders. If they did well as soldiers, they could be promoted professionally and socially.[54] Like local regiments in Britain, militia units also became linked to local kinships and rituals creating a shared identity with local people. If the local militia company looked good, so did the city or town where they were based.[55] Everything from regimental dinners, tournaments, officer's balls, band performances, lectures, training, ceremonial reviews, mock battles, and rifle and other tournaments were reported in the local newspapers, keeping the local population up to date with the comings and goings of their regiment.[56]

Understanding that this local connection was essential to the success of the British military model, when Major General Edward Hutton took over as General Officer Commanding the Canadian Militia in 1893, he openly supported military tattoos, church parades, and other public displays to show the Canadian public their military.[57] These public events were part of Hutton's four-point plan to revamp the Canadian militia system. First, Hutton, like previous British generals commanding the Canadian militia, understood that the militia needed more training to be effective. Unlike his predecessors, however, Hutton knew he needed to get the Canadian public behind their military before funds would become available to do this.[58] He embarked on the second part of his plan: getting the public to understand and support the

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[53] Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), 116, 117, and 120.

[54] O'Brian, 125 and 127.

[55] O'Brian, 128.

[56] Wood, 33 and Morton, 94.

[57] Wood, 70.

[58] Norman Penlington, *Canada and Imperialism 1896-1899* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 133 and 143.

military purpose of the militia. To do this, aside from public events, Hutton kept the Canadian public informed of militia activities and continued to popularize the militia myth, giving speeches that instilled national pride, alluding back to Canadian heroes from the War of 1812, like Colonel de Salaberry, and other conflicts.[59] The third reform reorganized the way the military headquarters in Canada operated. Since Confederation, the Canadian militia had always been reliant on British aid and support. To wean them off British support and create a fully Canadian administrative service for the militia, Hutton began working with local militia officers, seeking their advice as to what they wanted to see in the Canadian militia system. He also tried to eliminate political patronage that had plagued the system, especially the officer corps.[60] The last goal of his reforms was to prepare Canada for their participation in Imperial wars.[61] Again, this not only required the Canadian public to support the idea of sending their army overseas to fight for Britain, but also required Hutton to increase militia training.

Yearly twelve-day summer training camps became another way to show the public their military. Over 20,000 men, including Six Nations men found in the 37th Haldimand Rifles, attended these camps between 1875 and 1896, with corps located in the urban centers attending annually, and rural corps attending every other year. After 1896, due to either deteriorating equipment or low funds, some of these camps were cancelled at the last minute.[62] Without improving the quality of training or increasing spending, these camps provided an opportunity to show the public that their militia, which by 1897 had grown to 35,000 men (10,000 being city while 25,000 being rural corps) were actively training to defend Canada and Britain.[63] Hutton's success in his reforms, however, can be measured by Canadian press coverage during military conflicts, and Canadian participation in non-Canadian conflicts, including the Anglo-Boer War.

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[59] Penlington, 143, 144, and 148 and Wood, 66. Hutton's use of Col. de Salaberry was used purposefully to bring French Quebec into the Imperial fold.

[60] Penlington, 143, 133, 161, and 12 and Wood, 65, 66, and 72.

[61] Penlington, 143.

[62] Morton, 95 and Wood, 34 and 39.

[63] Wood, 27 and 28, and Morton, 94.

3.5 Press Coverage Military Interventions Outside of Canada

The defense of Canada and Britain was not the only military happening to gain press coverage in Canada. Foreign service, or even service in another country's military was also en vogue. As mentioned, the British war in Crimea spurred this attraction to foreign service, with British Columbia Governor James Douglas offering himself and a contingent of First Nations soldiers for service in Russia.[64] During the U.S. Civil War, over 50,000 Canadians enlisted in the Union while a small number enlisted in the Confederate forces.[65] Although not a Canadian war, many from the Grand River Territory and the surrounding non-First Nations communities, as will be seen in Chapter 5, found their way into this conflict. Soon after the U.S. Civil war was over, 507 men left Canada for Italy to fight against the unification of Italy as Papal Zouaves. While there were some concerns that Canadian trained soldiers were fighting in a country with which the British Empire was not at war, there were some government officials, like George-Etienne Cartier, who praised the volunteers as they "went to uphold his Holiness who was one of the staunchest opponents of Fenianism."[66] Many Canadians volunteered in the Ten Years War in Cuba (1868-1878); some, like Frank Stenabaugh and Jack Patterson from Brantford, enlisted with the U.S. forces during the Spanish-American War in 1898.[67] Concerns over the Indian Rebellion in 1858 brought about the creation of the 100th Regiment of the Royal Canadians.[68] When tensions began to rise between Britain and Russia during the Russo-Turkish War in 1877, Canadians were more than willing to volunteer for service, including those from the 37th Haldimand Rifles – who,

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[64] Morton, 79.

[65] Tyler Wentzell, "Mercenaries and Adventurers: Canada and the Foreign Enlistment Act in the Nineteenth Century," *Canadian Military History* 23, 2 (2014): 63 and First Reading of a Bill Respecting the Militia and Defence of the Dominion of Canada, 31 March 1868 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer: 1868), 13.

[66] Wentzell, 72; House of Commons, Debates, Vol. 1, 31 Vict. 1867 (Ottawa: Roger Duhamer (Queen's Printer, 1967), 386; and First Reading of a Bill Respecting the Militia and Defence of the Dominion of Canada, 31 March 1868 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer: 1868), 13.

[67] "Uncle Sam's Suit," *The Brantford Expositor*, 11 August 1898, 8 and "How T'was Done," *The Brantford Expositor*, 16 August 1898, 7. Frank Stenabaugh would be wounded at the battle of San Juan Hill.

[68] Wood, 51.

as will be seen in Chapter 5, contained many Six Nations men – offering their services.[69] When Britain again saw its influence threatened during the Afghan and Sudan Crises in 1885, and its empire at risk during the Venezuela Border Dispute in 1897, not only did the ranks of the Canadian militia swell, but the Venezuela Border Dispute prompted the Canadian militia to upgrade their firearms to the British Lee-Enfield.[70] Upon return from foreign service, Canadian volunteers were welcomed as heroes. When they returned from Italy, the Papal Zouaves were celebrated as folk heroes in Quebec.[71] When Jack Patterson returned to Brantford from the Spanish American War to recover from the flu in 1898, he was met in the armouries by friends and the press.[72] Veterans returning from the Sudan Crisis were also welcomed as heroes by members of the House of Commons who wanted similar accolades for those willing to volunteer during the Russo-Turkish War, requesting their names be printed in the legislature's official records so Members of the House could recognize citizens and communities loyal to the British Empire.[73] In 1907, the House even debated issuing a medal to those who volunteered for the Nile Expedition during the Sudan Crisis.[74]

3.6 Six Nations Reactions to the Popular Military

Recognizing this widespread support for the British and Canadian military, historians like Timothy Winegard and John Moses have debated whether or not Six Nations traditional militarism was strong enough to withstand such overt patriotism. The answer is nuanced. As

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[69] House of Commons, Debates, Vol. 1, 42 Vict., 1879 (Ottawa: The Ottawa Citizen Office, 1879), 665-666 and 1641.

[70] Morton, 109 and 112 and Wood, 38.

[71] Wentzell, 72.

[72] "Uncle Sam's Suit," *The Brantford Expositor*, 11 August 1898, 8.

[73] House of Commons, Debates, Vol. 1, 42 Vict., 1879 (Ottawa: The Ottawa Citizen Office, 1879), 665-666 and House of Commons, Debates, Vol 1 and 2, 48-49 Vict. 1884 (Ottawa: McLean, Roger and Company, 1884), 210.

[74] House of Commons, Debates, Vol. 1. 6-7 Edward VII, 1906-7 (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson (King's Printer), 1906-7), 224.

noted by Loft, by 1909 the oral traditions of Six Nations at Grand River had been expanded to include other wars that were fought by traditional Six Nations forces, but most of this fighting was in support and as allies to the British. To use a traditional Six Nations methodology when explaining the addition of a family to an existing family unit, the rafters were extended to include aspects of this non-Six Nations military enthusiasm. Like changes in their ceremonial practices, Six Nations ceremonial and military culture did not affect the core of Six Nations spirituality or how they viewed their military role within their own communities or within their treaty relationship with the British. Two examples which illustrate this point are a photograph of the Wampum Keepers taken by Horatio Hale in 1881, and narratives concerning the family of George Henry Martin Johnson.

During his ethnographic field work at Six Nations Grand River, Hale took a photograph of Six Nations chiefs with their wampum belts. Known in the research community by the title "The Wampum Keepers," this image can also be used to show a continuation of the Six Nations military from the War of 1812 (John Smoke Johnson and Joseph Snow), to the formation of the first recognized Six Nations company in the British/Canadian militia system in 1863 (John Buck), and lastly, the movement back into the role of auxiliary forces during the 1837-38 Rebellions, the Fenian Raids, and an independent Six Nations militia (George Henry Martin Johnson). All but one man in this photograph had served on behalf of the Six Nations for the British, while also knowing and keeping to the traditional ways and understandings of the Six Nations, as demonstrated by their knowledge of the wampum belts. These men were able to balance their pasts as fighting men with their traditional roles as knowledge keepers and Chiefs responsible for peace; they knew that by participating in the military forces that supported the British, they were not going against their traditional culture, but were instead active agents supporting their traditional and sacred alliance with Great Britain.

Figure 3: Wampum Keepers, Copyright of the Woodland Cultural Centre[75]

Chief George Henry Martin Johnson also served as the Six Nations government interpreter. He was a living embodiment of how these two concepts of Six Nations and non-Six Nations military joined together. In 1853, Johnson married a non-Six Nations woman, Emily Susanna Howell, merging traditional Six Nations and English worldviews. Although Johnson kept up his family's tradition of honouring the Six Nations/British alliance as a dispatch rider for Sir Allen McNab during the Rebellions of 1837-38 and serving with a force of Six Nations men during the Fenian raids, he also served in an independent company of Six Nations men, who, like the sedentary militia, trained and paraded once a year at the Six Nations Council House on the 24th of May.[76] Although his daughter Evelyn does not provide the years these musters occurred in her memoirs, *The Brantford Expositor* retells of a muster of Six Nations on the Queen's Birthday in 1861, led by G.H.M. Johnson. In his account for the newspaper, John Smith Sr. reported,

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[75] Tom Hill and Joanna Bedard, *Council Fire: A Resource Guide* (Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 1989), 23.

[76] Evelyn H.C. Johnson, *Memoirs* (Six Nations Grand River Territory: Chiefswood National Historic Site, 2009), 12, and 30.

> Having crossed the river we found the braves and warriors of the Six Nations to number of 1000 foot and 1000 mounted militia going through the tactics incident to a proper acquaintance with the science of war…Chief G.H.M. Johnson had the general command of this body ably assisted by Chiefs Beaver, Clinch, Powlas and some others whose names we did not catch. The training closed with a sham fight got up in excellent style.[77]

Since no records of any British or Canadian sanctioned militia company can be located aside from the Tuscarora Rifle Company (1862-1864), on which Johnson's name does not appear, it can be assumed these militia companies were formed and possibly supported by the Six Nations themselves. This assumption is supported by the fact that in the records kept by the Department of Indian Affairs, from 1874 to 1892, the Six Nations Council ordered mass quantities of gun powder and percussion caps. Although it was recorded that some of these supplies were used in the manufacture of fireworks for the celebrations for Queen Victoria's birthday in 1888, 1889, and 1890, 1000 or more percussion caps were ordered,[78] a number too great only for use in fireworks. This is further supported through surviving correspondence from 1866, 1883, and 1885, that note that there was no officially sanctioned "all First Nations" militia company at Six Nations supported by the British or Canadian governments.[79] Secondly, in anthropological reports, it is noted that during a number of certain ceremonies, armed members of the Six Nations would form lines and fire volleys toward the skies to awaken the sun.[80]

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[77] *The Brantford Expositor*, 31 May 1861, as cited in Sharpe, *The Martial Spirit*, 95.

[78] Requisition from the Council for Money to Celebrate the Queen's Birthday, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1961, File 4896; Requisition by the Council for Money to Pay Expenses Connected with the Celebration of the Queen's Birthday, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2060, File 9851; J.T. Gilkison Requesting Money to Purchase Supplies for the Celebration of the Queen's Birthday, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1988, File 6521; Request from the Council for Money to Help with the Expense of the Queen's Birthday, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2018, File 8211; Request from the Band for Money to pay for the Celebration of Her Majesty's Birthday, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2089, File 13,612; Report of the Six Nations' Celebration of the Queen's Birthday, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2142, File 29,579; Correspondence regarding Victoria Day Celebrations on the Six Nations Reserve, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2185, File 37,415; Correspondence Regarding Accounts for Celebrating the Queen's Birthday, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2222, File 43,469; Correspondence Regarding Proposed Celebrations for Her Majesty's Birthday, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2376, File 76,551; and Correspondence Regarding the Costs of Celebrating Her Majesty's Birthday, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2418, File 86,139.

[79] J.S. Gilkison to John A. Macdonald, 11 June 1866, Canadian Military Heritage Museum; R.L. Nelles to David Thompson, 21 April 1883, Ruthven National Historic Site, Thompson Family Papers; and Noon, 60.

[80] The Iroquois Sacrifice of the White Dog," *The American Antiquarian* 7 (1885): 8 and Arthur C. Parker, *The Code of Handsome Lake, The Seneca Prophet* (Ohsweken: Iroqrafts, 2000 [1913]), 103n1 and 313.

Johnson, educated in both the Six Nations and non-Six Nations worlds, was "fervently patriotic" to the British, a member of the Masonic Lodge, United Empire Loyalist Association, York Pioneers, Odd Fellow Lodge, and an ardent supporter of the Conservative Party of Canada, was also well versed in the traditional life of his people.[81] Not only was he willing to put his life on the line for Six Nations/British alliance, but also for his people. When he was appointed forest warden by the Six Nations Council to protect Six Nations lands from illegal foresting, he literally put his life on the line for his people, twice being beaten and left for dead by non-Six Nations lumbermen. The last of these beatings would eventually take his life.[82]

Johnson was also very fond of European militaries. Influenced by recent German immigrants to the Grand River area, Johnson became a fan of Otto von Bismarck and even sent Bismarck a signed picture of himself in First Nations dress, to which Bismarck responded in kind, sending Johnson a signed picture.[83] He also adored Napoleon Bonaparte. Eldest son Henry Beverly Johnson, named after a Capt. Beverly from Toronto with whom Johnson had served with during the 1837-38 Rebellions, was also nicknamed "Bony" after Napoleon. This naming and nicknaming continued with son Allen Wawanosh Johnson[84] being nicknamed Kleber, after General Jean-Baptiste Kleber, who fought for Napoleon in Egypt. His daughter, Six Nations poetess Emily Pauline Johnson was named after Napoleon's sister Pauline.[85] During playtime, George and son Allen reenacted Napoleonic battles, with George taking on

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[81] Evelyn H.C. Johnson, 13 and 14.

[82] Peter Unwin, "The Mohawk Princess," *The Beaver* 79, 5 (1999), 16-17 and J.T. Gilkison Transmitting Information Concerning a Serious Assault Committed on Chief George H.M. Johnson, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1912, File 2518.

[83] Evelyn H.C. Johnson, 13.

[84] Although Wawanosh is an Ojibwa name, according to Sheila M.F. Johnson, *Buckskin and Broadcloth: A Celebration of E. Pauline Johnson – Tekohionwake 1861-1913* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 1997), 48, G.H.M. Johnson gave his son this middle name in honour of Chief Wawanosh, who was a guest a Johnson's home when his son was born.

[85] Evelyn H.C. Johnson, 25, 38, and 42. Although it is unknown where George Johnson's admiration for Napoleon Bonaparte originated, it is interesting to note that, according to Ron Awde, *A History of Jarvis* (1976), 57-58, in the 1870s and 1880s, it was well known that a former aide-de-camp of Napoleon, who had been exiled from France, was living in the Grand River Territory in Port Dover and relocated to Jarvis to teach trigonometry and algebra.

the role of the general commanding, and Allen being a lesser general in charge of troops.[86] Beverly and Allen also drew and coloured regiments of soldiers on the walls of the house. George Johnson liked the drawings so much he allowed this to continue.[87]

Like children outside of the Grand River Territory, the Johnsons were inundated with images and objects highlighting the hyper-militarized nature of British imperialism. This type of play and playtime objects, however, was not alien to traditional Six Nations culture. As noted by Six Nations anthropologist A.C. Parker, before toy soldiers, and continuing into at least the 1910s, Six Nations children played with corn husk dolls "dressed as warrior and women and …given all the accessories, bows, tomahawks, baby-boards or paddles, as the sex may require."[88] These could be augmented by the stories of traditional knowledge holders. In her memoirs, eldest daughter of George Johnson, Evelyn, relates that it was not uncommon for her and the other children to be regaled by stories of the War of 1812 by their grandfather John Smoke Johnson or fellow veteran friend John Fraser. Even their cleaning lady, Mrs. Mt. Pleasant would "tell us tales of the War of 1812, when she was a little girl. She remembered hearing the guns and said that the women and children were sent to Smokey Hollow (Holmdale) for safety."[89] These stories were also incorporated into the Johnson children's playtime. Alongside the reenactments of Napoleonic battles, Allen also acted out his father's and grandfathers' stories. According to Evelyn,

> Mother once heard a noise in the hall, and looking out of the living-room door she saw Allen going outside carrying father's gun. He was not more than six, and the gun was as big as the child. Slung over his shoulder was the powder and shot bag, which dragged on the floor.
>
> After our grandfather completed dressing, the last thing he did was fasten his knife to the strap about his waist and under his coat. Allen was a little boy, undertook to do the same thing. We complained to mother, who smiled and said, "Oh never mind! Let him alone if he wants to imitate grandfather."

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[86] Evelyn H.C. Johnson, 38.

[87] Evelyn H.C. Johnson, 60.

[88] A.C. Parker, "Iroquois Uses of Maze and Other Food Plants," 83.

[89] Evelyn H.C. Johnson, 9-10, and 31.

> Once mother called Allen, who answered, but made no move to see what was wanted. Father got up from his chair and said, "Did you hear your mother speak?" Allen shot from the room like an arrow from the bow, and father, resuming his chair, said, "When I was in the military and my superior officer spoke to me I had to go instantly."[90]

With children educated in both European and Six Nations concepts of the military, and with parents and grandparents obviously having direct knowledge with both British and Six Nations traditions, it is not surprising to find both these ideas in the responses of the Six Nations when it came to their own military service.

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[90] Evelyn H.C. Johnson, 39.

Chapter 4: Understanding their Military: Six Nations Post-Traditional Military

After the War of 1812, the Grand River Six Nations still held to their position as allies of the British Crown. This encompassed not only their traditional understandings of what being a warrior was, but also their understanding of military participation on behalf of the Crown. Even after the signing of the Rush-Bagot Treaty in 1817 the Six Nations found ways to continue this military participation without directly violating their understanding as sovereign allies. Military service was realized in two different, but nonetheless connected ways: as auxiliary forces or through direct participation in the British/Canadian militia system. Although many historians have viewed the move from auxiliary forces to direct participation in British/Canadian militia system as a resignation of Six Nations military sovereignty to the Canadian state, when both these trends are viewed as a continuous transition from the end of the War of 1812 to the beginning of the First World War, it can be seen that these two phases overlap. By viewing this as a transition, and not as two separate forms of military service, it can be understood that there was no surrender of Six Nations ideological or military sovereignty. Instead, there was a continuation of how Six Nations understood and balanced their traditional military forces and service for the British Crown.

4.1 A Question of Expense: Physically Reshaping the Six Nations Military

Leading up to the First World War, the Six Nations continued to participate militarily with the British Crown as auxiliary forces, whether called to participate by a British royal representative, or volunteered by Six Nations. The British government provided their Six Nations allies with military supplies from their military stores or the British Indian Department as part of the annual presents to their Indigenous allies. After the War of 1812, to curb the growing cost of the Indian Department, the British government began to reduce the items distributed as presents and restructured the Indian Department. This restructuring led to

the transferring of the department from military to civilian control in 1830. Others advocated for the department's outright abolishment.[1] Prior to 1830, the "system of dealing with them [First Nations People] was essentially military. For a long time, they were under the head of the military department, and were considered and treated as military allies or stipendiaries."[2] Following this line, during the early debates about the annual presents, most British politicians agreed that their purpose was military. In 1832, Sir John Colborne, Governor of British North America from 1828-1836, stated that the giving of presents was to ally First Nations peoples in friendship to the British during war. He further argued that "The Tribes residing in the settled districts of this province, have strong claims on the British Government, and every possible attention to promote their welfare and civilization." Due to this loyalty to the British, "the British Government cannot, I imagine, now, under any circumstances, get rid of an inconvenient debt, contracted at a period when an alliance with the Indians was highly appreciated."[3] This opinion was supported by his superior, Governor of British North America Sir James Kempt who believed "it would be alike impolite and unjust to discontinue them at present, though I have no doubt, that object may be hereafter generally sustained!" Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of States for the British Colonies, stated, in 1836, that the giving of presents was to garner First Nations support in war. He further agreed with Colborne that the practices had gone on for so long, that their "sudden abrogation would lead to great discontent among the Indians, and perhaps to consequences of a very serious nature."[4]

Many British administrators advised on ways of cutting the cost of these presents by changing the articles that were distributed. In 1828, Governor of Upper Canada, Sir George Murray advised that the presents should include farm implements and stock instead of military items to aid in the transition of First Nations people from hunting to a lifestyle designed around the cultivation of the soil. In his report in 1828, Henry Charles Darling,

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[1] *Report from The Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements); with the minutes of evidence and index, 14 July 1837*, 8; *The Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 20 March 1845, 8 and 9; and *Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1847), n.p.

[2] *Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 6.

[3] *Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, n.p.

[4] *Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, n.p.

military secretary to Lord Dalhousie, advised Dalhousie that due to the budget for giving presents being so small, he could not, in good faith, recommend giving of less. The only item Darling did recommend be cut from the presents list was clay pipes as they were too fragile and usually broken by the time they were received by First Nations peoples.[5] Clothing and other articles were also recommended as replacements. Commissioner General Sir R. Roberts proposed that, aiding in bringing First Nations peoples to "civilization," European-style clothing and goods to make clothing should be given as presents. Similar lists were drawn up by Thomas Gummersall Anderson when he was chief superintendent of Indian Affairs. Although both suggestions seemed good on paper, they were rejected since they actually increased, instead of decreasing, the cost of presents.[6] Other government workers suggested that guns and rifles, along with other items, should be removed from the presents and replaced with more practical items like iron, sugar, kettles, fishing nets, and farming implements, with flags and medals being issued on special occasions.[7] It was noted in a commission in 1856 that although Governor General Lord Metcalfe advised the discontinuation of supplying First Nations people ammunition through the presents system in 1845, this practice was continued for some years afterward.[8]

Although annual presents were never eliminated, through the help of agents appointed by the British government, the list was slowly whittled down. One way to decrease the cost of annual presents employed by government officials in Canada was by selling or stock piling items that would otherwise have been distributed through the annual presents system. Many of these items sold to the Canadian public, as noted by historian Rhonda Telford, were military in nature as government officials wanted to stop arming First Nations people. In 1820, muskets that were supposed to be given to Britain's First Nations allies were actually

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[5] Darling Report, 24 July 1828, included in Correspondence Papers Relative to the Aboriginal Tribes in British Possessions, 1834, Parliament of Great Britain, *Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes*, 25.

[6] *Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, n.p.

[7] *Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, n.p.

[8] *Report of the Special Commissioners Appointed on the 8th of September 1856 to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1858), n.p.

sold from government stores to the public.[9] Consequently, the Indian presents budget was reduced from 150,000 to 25,732 pounds per annum in 1829.[10] With First Nations people not being needed for warfare, the 1830s also saw the general trend of moving the responsibility of the Indian Department from military to civil control. This move was intended to curb First Nations militarism and prepare them for the ways of civilization and their eventual assimilation into the colonial body politic.

4.2 A Break in the Reshaping: The Rebellions of 1837-1838

While trying to reduce the presents budget and the overall cost of the operation of the Indian Department, Upper and Lower Canada experienced their first military conflict since the War of 1812: the Rebellions of 1837-38. Disgruntled colonists rebelled against the "Family Compact" government of British Canada in which political power was controlled by the British elite in Canada. Following their alliance, the Six Nations sided with the British either fearing that if the rebels won, they would seize Six Nations land or, by way of annexation of the Canadas to the U.S.A., they would lose the alliance and special status they had with the British.[11] As argued by Rhonda Telford, there may have been other political and traditional reasons for this participation including the rearming and supplying of their people and the ability for their young men to get experience in war. By siding with the British, they could also gain favour and maybe receive increased presents.[12] Potentially, this favour could be

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[9] Rhonda Telford, "The Central Ontario Anishinaabe and the Rebellion, 1830-1840," *Actes du Trente-Deuxieme Congress des Algonquinistes*, edited by John D. Nichols (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2001), 553.

[10] Evidence of Saxe Bemnister, *Report from The Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements); with the minutes of evidence and index, 14 July 1837*, 8.

[11] Charles M. Johnston ed., *The Valley of the Six Nations: A Collection of Documents on the Indian Lands of the Grand River* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1964), lxxvii and John Moses, Donald Graves, and Warren Sinclair, *A Sketch Account of Aboriginal Peoples in the Canadian Military* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2004), 30.

[12] Telford, 553, 554, and 560.

used to press the British and Upper Canadian government into recognizing outstanding land claims and rights to hunting.[13]

What is unclear, however, is whether or not the Six Nations offered their services or were asked to participate by the British Crown. At Grand River, it is possible that the Six Nations men who "fell in" under Col. Allen McNab, did so at the request of the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada. According to Rev. Richard Flood, missionary for the Delaware at Grand River, Six Nations men were called out by the Lieutenant Governor.[14] This is supported by a letter to William Kerr, the commander of the Six Nations forces attached to Col. McNab's forces, from the Colonel commanding the Gore District, stating "His Excellency particularly requires that the warriors should proceed with you [Kerr] at their head. The Governor will be here [Hamilton] today at 11 o'clock."[15] Although this request and possible meeting with the Governor of Upper Canada happened in the second year of the rebellion, and the Grand River Six Nations were not the only Six Nations community to participate in the rebellions, what cannot be denied is that the British government was fully aware and supported the use of the Six Nations and other First Nations groups against the rebels, and that these troops were very effective.

Most First Nations troops were used with the Canadian militia to guard strategic points and waterways, freeing the British Regulars to march to Quebec where the rebellion was more intense. With major hubs of the Upper Canada rebellion in the settlements on Grand River and in Oxford County, the Six Nations were called out to many different areas to patrol and capture fleeing rebels. Even before the rebellion began, in May 1837, Visiting Superintendent Major Winnett offered himself and the Six Nations to break up pro-rebel meetings and rallies in Brantford. With the outbreak of conflict, 100 Six Nations troops, alongside 150 men from the Gore Militia were first sent to the community of Scotland to

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[13] Moses, Graves, and Sinclair, 30.

[14] Fred Landon, "The Common Man in the Era of Rebellion in Upper Canada," in *Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Ontario: Essays Presented to James J. Talman*, edited by F.H. Armstrong, H.A. Stevens, and J.D. Wilson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 170n25.

[15] Letter from Sir Allen McNab to Capt. Kerr, 2 July 1838 as reproduced in R. Cuthbertson Muir, *The Early Political and Military History of Burford* (Quebec: La Cie D'Imprimerie Commerciale, 1913), 158.

confront Dr. Charles Duncombe and his rebel force. In 1838, the Six Nations were called on again and 100 Six Nations men, joined by another 150 men from the Upper Cayuga and Delaware went to the communities of Oakland, Mount Pleasant, and Paris to confront Elialkim Malcolm's rebel force. These forces, arriving too late to capture both Duncombe's and Malcolm's rebel followers, proceeded to Norwich in pursuit of the fleeing rebels. Fearing another attack, the Six Nations troops under Capt. Kerr were again called out to Port Dover and stood ready after October 1839 with 600 men in case they were needed again.[16] Other Six Nations communities did not have a choice about whether or not to participate in the conflict. Looking for arms, rebels invaded Mohawk territory at Kahnawake in November 1837. After threatening a chief with a pistol, the rebels were ambushed; sixty-four men out of a force of seventy-five were either apprehended or killed.[17]

Accounts of Six Nations fighting during the rebellion are few and, when covered by newspapers, old colonial or American biases can be found. The image of the Six Nations military varied wildly from between the 'savage' and the 'civilized' depending on the political leaning of the newspaper. Compare for example coverage of McNab's advance on Scotland by *London Sun*, which reported that,

> The latest authentic information we have from Colonel MacNab in a dispatch signed by him, and dated Scotland (London district), Dec. 1. This place was the head-quarters of the insurgents commanded by Duncombe, about 400 in number, and Col. McNab had pushed on a speed to attack them, his own detachment consisting of 360 rank and file, 150 volunteers from Brantford, and 100 Indians under Colonel Kerr. He was too late, however, the insurgents moved off on the night of the 13th, and as they could entertain no hope of resisting the overwhelming force opposed to them it was supposed that they would disperse and their leaders fly the county.[18]

This same account, when reported in the United States, differed immensely, with the *Rochester Democrat* reporting,

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[16] Roger Sharpe, *The Martial Spirit: A History of the Sedentary Militia and the Six Nations Warriors of the Former Brant County Area 1784-1884* (Paris, ON: Roger Sharpe, 2003), 74, 76, 79, 81, 82, 84, and 85.

[17] Lackenbauer, Moses, Sheffield, and Gohier, 49.

[18] *The London Sun*, 1837, as reproduced in Brian Dawe, *Old Oxford is Wide Awake!: Pioneer Settlers and Politicians in Oxford County, 1793-1853* (Self Published, 1980), 59.

> …the Indians were sent out at Scotland, against the unresisting radicals, like bloodhounds to hunt them from the forests – murdering and scalping unarmed men…two men were found in the same wood through which I passed, with withes about their necks, hanging to small saplings, which had evidently been bent down for the purpose and sprung into the air. This circumstance I related to a retired navy officer who was amongst them, and who spoke exultingly of the event, and boasted that he has offered one of the chiefs a dollar a piece for the scalp of every damned rebel.[19]

The accounts from the localities the Six Nations men were sent to could also be deceiving, depending on what side of the rebellion the populace supported or the treatment the population received at the hands of the British troops. In his analysis of the advance on Scotland and Oakland, historian Colin Read found that no reports from either Duncombe, Malcolm, or the local population - rebel or not - repeated the incidences reported in the *Rochester Democrat*.[20] In Norwich, McNab's force was again viewed negatively, due to their behavior of the British officers and men who swore, stole, and destroyed farms.[21] British officials in England also expressed strong opinions after learning that the Six Nations had been called out by McNab. Colonial Secretary Lord Glenelg wrote, "It scarcely possible…to conceive any necessity which would justify it and nothing would in my opinion tend more to alienate the inhabitants of Upper Canada, and to irritate the population of the United States than the attempt to let loose on the assailants of the government the horrors of savage warfare."[22] Even the missionary to the Delaware at Grand River feared that the Six Nations "would probably have resorted to all those horrid barbarities of scalping and burning which they practiced (mild as they are) in the revolutionary war of old."[23]

The evidence suggests, aside from their painted faces, the Six Nations did not fight any differently than other militiamen. Historians also found that as the rebellion continued, the number of Six Nations men in the field grew. Initial reports from 1837 claim Kerr and

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[19] *Letter to The Rochester Democrat*, 17 December 1837, as cited in Colin Read, *The Rising in Western Upper Canada, 1837-1838: The Duncombe Revolt and After* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 99.

[20] Read, 99-100.

[21] Dawes, 60.

[22] Glenelg as cited by Landon, 168.

[23] Rev. Richard Flood as cited by Landon, 170n25.

McNab only had 100 men. This force increased and, from 10 November to 31 December 1838, Kerr and his Lieutenants George Kerr and John Johnson had twenty-four Sergeants and 500 men under their command. By 1 to 20 January 1839, Kerr reported that he had twenty-four Sergeants and 520 men under his command.[24] From missionary reports, we can also see the stress the rebellion caused the Grand River community. Rev. Nelles, on 7 January 1838, reported that he only had twelve people at his service at the Mohawk Chapel as the men were all "away at Chippewa, having been called out to defend the country from a rebel army which has taken possession of Navy Island."[25] With the men gone, the economy at Grand River also stagnated. Children were released from school, including the Mohawk Institution as they were needed at home and, due to the rebellion, the goods produced at the school were not selling.[26] We also know the anxiety caused by the rebellion at the Grand River was real, with the New England Company missionaries fearing, "that before peace is returned to this province, much blood will be shed" and "should it turn against us we may expect bad times."[27] The Six Nations men in the field were also aware that some of their own neighbours sided with the rebels. During their advance on Norwich, it was reported that the Six Nations forces killed three escaping rebels while taking many more into custody. After realizing that one of the rebels was a friendly neighbour, Benjamin Wait, the Six Nations force released him.[28] Although being sympathetic to their neighbours, Six Nations troops were also willing to be called out more frequently than their non-First Nations counterparts. In October 1838, when 100 Six Nations men were called out to guard Port Dover, the Brantford militia, who were also called out, refused to go.[29]

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[24] Canadian Military Heritage Museum, Roger Sharpe Files, Six Nations File, Mackenzie Rebellion.

[25] Huron Church House Fonds, Margaret's Jottings – Miscellaneous Dates, Diocese of Huron Archives.

[26] Mr. Richardson's Report, 12 Feb 1838 and Correspondence of the Deputation in Canada, 24 Dec 1838 in *Report of the New England Company, 1832*, 88 and 201.

[27] Correspondence of the Deputation in Canada, 24 Dec 1838 in *Report of the New England Company, 1832*, 200-201.

[28] Cheryl MacDonald, *Haldimand History: The Early Years 1784-1850* (Nanticoke: Heronwood Enterprises, 2004), 80 and 82.

[29] Sharpe, *The Martial Spirit*, 84.

4.3 Using the Rebellion: Protesting the Reshaping of their Military and Alliance

In the short term, participation in the rebellions did help the Six Nations. Ironically, the military stores that Indian Department had not been distributing to First Nations people were used to not only equip British First Nations allies, but also the militia. In all, 4,228 pounds worth of supplies were taken from the Indian Department including 1,477 guns and rifles. As noted in his report to Commissioners looking into the Affairs of Indians in Canada in 1843, Chief Superintendent of the Indian Department Samuel P. Jarvis claimed he was having trouble collecting this missing money, fearing that he could not give First Nations people their allotted annual gifts.[30] Once the rebellions ended, the department wanted to return First Nations people to government-sponsored civilization programs, and tried to collect all of the firearms they had been given. For the Six Nations and many other First Nations, this was not going to happen. These supplies were obviously intended for their use as they were clearly stamped with the department's seal. When trying to collect arms from the Six Nations, William Kerr reported he feared these actions would sour the minds of the young Six Nations men. Indeed, many from Six Nations felt insulted when the department tried to take their arms, believing the government was questioning their loyalty to Britain. By the spring of 1840, the collecting of guns issued during the rebellions stopped due to lack of success.[31]

When the issue of squatters and land surrenders came to the Grand River lands in the 1840s, both the Six Nations, government agents, and missionaries used Six Nations services during the rebellions to halt the surrenders. In April 1844, in a memorial to the Governor General, Lord Stanley, the New England Company, fighting the surrender of Six Nations land on the south side of the river claimed,

> In the years 1837 and 1838, on the first notice of danger, these ancient allies were again under arms. When many of their fellow-subjects standing in more immediate relationship with this country, enjoying far stronger motives than themselves to the

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[30] Samuel P. Jarvis to the Commissioners, 6 February 1843 in *Report on the Affairs of the Indians of Canada* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1847), 108 and 109.

[31] Telford, 567-568.

> value and uphold its institutions, had forgotten their allegiance there was still found burning, as before in all their breasts, concealment by not extinguished by the neglect of intervening years, the same generous loyal and heroic spirit.[32]

Furthering their push for Six Nations, the New England Company again wrote Lord Stanly in August 1844, claiming they recognized his "…friendly and paternal feelings which he entertains towards the helpless remnant of a people, who always been distinguished for their fidelity and loyalty to the British Crown and many of whom have shed their blood in its defense."[33] When writing the Governor General Sir Charles Metcalfe on the same subject, the Six Nations Confederacy Council was quick to point out that,

> In the rebellion, in 1837, 500 Indian Men, (warriors,) bore arms in support of the Government, from which, Mr. N. infers, there are many who ought to be placed upon separate lots of lands; Indians who were children seventeen years ago have since settled upon the land.[34]

Although the Six Nations service in the rebellions was used as an argument to combat the surrender of Six Nations lands on the south side of the Grand River in 1840s, the surrender still went though. As noted by Rhonda Telford, First Nations participation in the rebellions may have slowed the surrender of their lands but did not prevent it.[35]

Due to the fact Six Nations men were not militiamen, they, like their veteran counterparts after the War of 1812, were not entitled to a British military pension. A veteran from the Mohawk community at Tyendinaga that fielded a force of fifty-two men at the outbreak of the rebellion, seventy-three men by December 1838, and sixty men in January 1839, wrote Sir John A. Macdonald in October 1868 seeking assistance for a leg wound he suffered during his service. In response, the veteran was notified that Canada only gave pensions for

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[32] Letter from the New England Company to Lord Stanly, 11 April 1844, *New England Company Report 1840-1844*, 130-131.

[33] Memorial from the New England Company to Lord Stanly, 1 Aug 1844, *New England Company Report 1840-1844*, 143.

[34] *New England Company Report 1840-1844*, 147.

[35] Telford, 569. Telford, "How the West was Won: Land Transactions between the Anishinaabe, the Huron and the Crown in Southwestern Ontario," *Papers of the Twenty-Ninth Algonquin Conference*, edited by David H. Penland (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1998), 348, also notes that non-Fist Nations people were able to use their loyalty during the rebellions to pressure the government against First Nations issues, with some even receiving appointments in the Indian Department.

veterans of the War of 1812, not the Rebellions of 1837-38.[36] It would not be until 1877 and 1879 that the Canadian government considered any sort of compensation for veterans of the 1837-38 rebellions.[37]

The superintendent at the Six Nations community at Kahnawake also used the rebellions to highlight the need for annual presents and how they related to the relationship the Six Nations had to the British Crown, noting,

> The gallantry of these Indians, in resisting and defending the Rebels who collected at their village in November, 1838, met with the marked approbation of the Governor and the Secretary of State, and was brought under the notice of the Queen, who authorized a special issue of presents, in token of Her commendation.[38]

4.4 The Reshaping Continues: Colonial Advances on Six Nations Sovereignty

As the Queen was giving her special issue of presents to the Six Nations at Kahnawake, the authorities in Britain and Canada were still looking to cut down the expenditures of the Indian Department and limit First Nations military capability through the reduction of annual presents. Published in 1845, the role of First Nations people as military allies was not down played during the Bagot Commission. Commissioners was quick to point out that,

> During the wars which Great Britain waged with France, and subsequently with the United States, on this Continent, both parties used their utmost endeavours to attach the Indians to their cause, and to incite them to join their standard. In this they were but too successful. The warlike character of their people, the temptation which presents and encouragement of the "Red Coat", offered, and the opportunity which the occasion presented for prosecuting their revenge against their adverse tribes, lead a great part of the race into the field. The history of this period affords abundant

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[36] Canadian Military Heritage Museum, Roger Sharpe Files, Six Nations File, Mackenzie Rebellion, and Application form John S. Brant of the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte Requesting a Pension from the Government for His Services in the War of 1837-1838, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2434, File 89,633.

[37] House of Commons, Debates, Vol. 1, 40 Vict., 1877 (Ottawa: McLean, Roger and Company, 1877), 82 and House of Commons, Debates, Vol. 1, 42 Vict., 1879 (Ottawa: The Ottawa Citizen Office, 1879), 1757.

[38] *Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 18.

> evidence of their enterprise and prowess as warriors, with many remarkable instances of heroism and magnanimity, and no less striking examples of bloody revenge, and savage cruelty.[39]

In discussing the Six Nations, the commissioners also pointed out that due to their loyalty to Britain in the American Revolution the Six Nations were awarded the land grant of 674,910 acres at Grand River "without any condition or restriction except that the lands should not be alienated without the consent of the crown."[40] The commissioners made it clear that there were two ways First Nations collected income: through annuities and the distribution of presents. The source of annuities, which had "always been the first charge upon the revenue derived from the sale of Crown lands, and have been *punctually paid up to the present time*," came from land deals First Nations had made for the surrender of their lands, which had left First Nations communities "in possession of advantages which far exceed those of the surrounding white population."[41] Presents were a different matter.

> From the earliest person of the connexion [sic.] between the Indians and the British Government it has been customary to distribute annually certain presents, consisting chiefly of clothing and ammunition. It does not clearly appear how and when this practice arose. In a memorial of the Seven Nations to the Governor of Lower Canada, in 1837, they assert that it was commenced by the French Government the object at that period was doubtless in the first instance to conciliate the Indians, to ensure their services, and to supply the wants as warriors in the field: and afterwards, in times of peace to secure their allegiance towards the British Crown, and their good will and peaceful behavior to towards the settlers."[42]

According to the Commissioner, the Six Nations believed that the presents were more than a matter of consoling, confirming their loyalty and militarily supplying them as allies – they were also "a sacred debt contracted by the Government, under the promise made by the Kings of France to our forefathers, to indemnify them for the lands they had given up,

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[39] *Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 3-4.

[40] *Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 5.

[41] *Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 5.

[42] *Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 5-6.

confirmed by the Kings of England since the cession of the country, and, up to this time, punctually paid and acquitted."[43]

Other government representatives concurred with the fact that presents were a direct part of equipping First Nations people in times of war. In 1830, George Murray, ex-acting governor of Upper Canada, felt that the annual presents were given out to garner First Nations friendship in times of war. This system, however, had been used so much by the Home and Colonial governments that it had become routine, and did nothing to encourage First Nations people into a "settled purpose…from a state of barbarism, and of introducing amongst them the industrious and peaceful habits of civilized life."[44] When reporting on the state of First Nations people in Canada in 1832, the British Secretary of State noted that in a cost saving initiative, annuities and presents sometimes came from the same source with the annual presents being purchased through the money from the sale of Indian lands, while the money for employees of the Indian Department came from the military chest. According to the Secretary, this was done because First Nations people, their presents, and the Department's employees were a military expense since they were needed in times of war.[45]

Although noting them to be loyal to the British Crown through their participation in the rebellions, and acknowledging that presents to First Nations peoples were part of a larger strategy to cheaply equip them to defend Canada, the British Imperial government continued to trim the budget of the Indian Department while also guiding First Nations people into "civilization." The Bagot Commission, like the Select Committee on Aborigines in 1837, relied on past reports to inform their recommendations. One such plan was advised by James Kempt, the Governor-in Chief of the united Canadas, in 1828. Although rejecting that First Nations people should be taken out from under the direction of military versus civil authorities, his four-point plan outlined that First Nations people should be placed in settlements, provided education in farming, and be provided missionaries. This way they

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[43] Parliamentary Papers of 17 June 1839, No. 323, 62 as cited in *Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 6.

[44] *Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 8.

[45] *Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 9.

would become farming communities similar to those located outside of First Nations communities. This plan, due to its cost, was never acted upon.[46] In 1835, Lord Glenelg, recommended a three-point plan to reduce the cost of the Indian Department. First, he advised that no further presents should be issued to First Nations people residing in the United States, breaking the alliance system the British had cultivated with First Nations communities south of the Canadian border since their arrival in the new world. Glenelg, while still advising the continuation of presents to First Nations people residing in Canada, he was "by no means prepared to admit that they should be indefinitely perpetuated."[47] This plan would be reiterated in 1836 by Sir Francis Bond Head, Governor of Upper Canada from 1836-1838.[48] Secondly, the presents should be substituted for agricultural implements. Although believing that this had already begun, the Commissioner was quick to point out that he was mistaken as these articles had been purchased for First Nations people residing in Upper Canada out of their annuity monies after Sir John Colborne received permission to do so from the Secretary of State in 1839.[49] The last point of Glenelg's plan was to provide schools and education, especially for the First Nations people of Upper Canada.[50] The Earl of Gosford, former Governor General of British North American prior to the Rebellions of 1837-1838, concurred with Glenelg's plan to replace presents that were military in nature for agricultural equipment, and European clothing, and the education of First Nations people. It was his view that the distribution of presents be continued "until the Indians shall be raised to a capacity of maintaining themselves on an equally with the rest of the populations."[51]

Only two reports advised the Bagot Commission that the training of First Nations peoples as farmers was not in their best interest. Before his dismissal as Governor of Upper Canada, Sir Francis Bond Head recommended "that an attempt to make farmers of the Red men has been generally speaking a complete failure" and that "the greatest kindness we can perform

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[46] *Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 7.

[47] *Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 9.

[48] *Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, n.p.

[49] *Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 8 and *Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, n.p.

[50] *Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 9.

[51] *Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 10.

towards these intelligent, simple minded people, is to remove and to fortify them as much as possible from all communication with the Whites."[52] The only recommendation Bond Head agreed with was discontinuing the issuing of presents to First Nations people from the United State after a period of three years in order to "give them time to prepare for the change."[53] This plan of leaving First Nation people to their own ways of life was also advised by Governor General of the United Canadas Lord Sydenham in July 1841:

> All of my observation has completely satisfied me, that the direct interference of the Government is only advantageous to the Indians who can still follow their accustomed pursuits, and that if they became settlers, they should be compelled to fall into the ranks of the rest of Her Majesty's subjects, exercising the same independent control over their own property and their own actions, and subject to the same general law as other citizens.[54]

The commissioner thus made the following recommendations to lower the cost of the Indian Department and presents: First, the giving of presents to First Nations people from the United States, 2000-3000 of which still came to Canada to claim their presents, was discontinued.[55] Although not committing to a "Civilization Plan" for First Nations people, the commissioners also observed that more of this kind of work had been done in Upper, and not Lower, Canada. The concerns over civilizing the Six Nations would be left to three other commissions. Two commissions in 1847 and 1856 concurred that although First Nations people and presents were a military expenditure, the time had come for this to stop. These commissions also agreed with breaking the British alliance with First Nations people in the United States by eliminating their presents. This recommendation was also supported by missionaries and interpreters working within First Nations communities, who agreed that once the money that was used for presents was used for education, First Nations people would no longer be depended on this government assistance and could compete with the non-First Nations settlers surrounding them.[56]

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[52] *Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 11.

[53] *Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 11.

[54] *Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 13.

[55] *Bagot Commission on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, 24.

[56] *Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada 1847*, n.p.

Following these ideas, the commissioners concluded that if presents were to be continued, they needed to be useful. For them to be considered useful, the presents needed to aid in the conversion of First Nations peoples to Christianity and establishing western-style agricultural settlements. Schools and the reeducation of First Nation people were central in the plan for conversion. Commissioners supported the education of First Nations peoples which they felt should be taken up by missionaries and teachers through day, industrial, and labour schools. A plan for education must consist of the training of the mind, transitioning the First Nations population "from the habits and feelings of their ancestors…[to] the acquirement of the language, arts and customs of civilized life."[57] This included the "management of property, with the outlay of money, and with the exercise of such offices among themselves as they are qualified to fill, such as Rangers, Pathmasters, and other offices, for ordinary Township purposes," "familiarized with the mode of transacting business among the whites," and "domestic economy, charge of the household and dairy, use of the needle" for girls.[58] If children were educated in the Industrial schools, they would have to resign there current and future presents to pay for their schooling.[59]

It was also hoped that a portion of the cost of these schools would be taken out of First Nations annuity monies. The Commissioners pointed out that there were three phases when it came to annuity payments. During phase one, from 1830-1834, annuity monies were paid by the Imperial parliament, and given to First Nations communities similar to annual presents. From 1834-1840, this money came from the monies earned from the land leased from Indian lands. Commissioners hoped that the third phase would use this money from leases to fund First Nations education. Although the *BNA Act* of 1840 did not make provisions for annuities, commissioners hoped, "that when the Indians have become gradually sensible of the advantages of education, they will be willing to devote a considerable portion of their Annuities to the maintenance of Schools and other instillations of learning." This plan was, in part, supported by First Nations leaders, with the commissioners noting,

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[57] *Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada 1847*, n.p.

[58] *Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada 1847*, n.p.

[59] *Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada 1847*, n.p.

> Among other Resolutions passed by a large body of Chiefs in 1836…It is the opinion of the Council that we should encourage the children of our respective Tribes to the constant attendance to their school and that proper establishments should be formed for the instruction of our children in the various branches of useful knowledge, for which purpose it may, ere long, be proper, to elicit the Governor to permit an appropriation of a part of our land payments.[60]

To show that the monies earned from annuities and presents could be used to fund this education, commissioners took stock of the amount of annuity funds earned by the Six Nations communities at Grand River and the Mohawks at Bay of Quinte in 1847. This audit, the want to increase schools and the Imperial government's "civilization" programs, and the limiting of Six Nations presents and therefore their capacity to support their own military, led the commissioners to conclude that the Grand River lands needed more supervision. The commissioners recommended that a chief clerk position be established at Grand River whose salary would be paid for by a parliamentary grant and Indian funds.[61]

The work of the 1847 commission was continued by another commission held in 1856. The 1856 commission had two clear goals. The first was to secure the best means for the "future progress and civilization of the Indian Tribes in Canada." Second was to determine the "best mode of so managing the Indian Property as to secure its full benefit to the Indians, without impeding the settlement of the country."[62] The commissioners were also aware of the current negative political feelings First Nations people had in regard to the reforming of their traditional alliance structure with the British Crown, but used the 1836-37 rebellions to show that although First Nations people were upset about these changes, they continued to support the Imperial government. According to their report, First Nations people imagined, "that they are victims of a breach of faith, and a feeling of mistrust and suspicion is rapidly supplanting their former confidence."[63] However, the commissioners

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[60] *Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada 1847*, n.p.

[61] *Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada 1847*, n.p.

[62] *Report of the Special Commissioners Appointed on the 8th of September 1856 to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada*, n.p.

[63] *Report of the Special Commissioners Appointed on the 8th of September 1856 to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada*, n.p.

> do not intend to convey the idea that the First Nations Tribes are disaffected: they may be disaffected, and their acquiescence in the measures alluded to above may arise to a certain extent for the apathy and a feeling of weakness, rather than contentment; but their unsolicited liberality towards the Patriotic Fund, and the more recent volunteering of some of the Tribes to form Militia corps either for defence of the Province of for foreign Service, prove their Loyalty to be unshaken."[64]

With this in mind, the commissioners felt secure in their predictions for the future of First Nations people as "they [First Nations people] have strong claims on our sympathy and on our sense of justice, and your Commissioners see no reason why they may not in time take their place among the rest of the population of this Province."[65]

4.5 Limiting Presents and Supplies: Curbing the Six Nations Military

The commissioners in 1856 were aware that some First Nations communities, including the Six Nations, were upset that presents were discontinued in 1846. The commissioners noted that "the Council too held the faith of the Crown pledged to the continuance of the presents which were not only viewed 'by the Indians as a compensation for the more substantial advantages of Territory which they saw passing from them, but were accepted as proof of the continued protection of the Crown.'" The Commissioners continued,

> We further humbly submit to your Majesty, that in our opinion the discontinuance of their allowances' will be regarded by the Indians as a breach of a sacred compact entered into for their benefit, and that it will render them discontented, as we fear will affect their loyalty and present devotion to the Crown of England, and the person of Your Majesty.[66]

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[64] *Report of the Special Commissioners Appointed on the 8th of September 1856 to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada*, n.p.

[65] *Report of the Special Commissioners Appointed on the 8th of September 1856 to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada*, n.p.

[66] *Report of the Special Commissioners Appointed on the 8th of September 1856 to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada*, n.p.

Although claiming the discontinuation of presents was bad for the relationship between the Crown and First Nations people, the commissioners also believed that the distribution of presents was a form of welfare which brought about the dependence of First Nations peoples on these presents and therefore, on the government assistance. Their solution: break this cycle through the industrial and boarding school system.[67]

To this end, the commissioners saw hope in the 1840s and 1850s meetings with First Nations Chiefs where the idea of these schools was first discussed. They reported,

> The first practical step toward the formation of a fund for the maintenance of these schools, seems to have been taken by Lord Metcalfe, who discontinued the issue of ammunition and presents to the Indians of the following tribes: Mississauga of Alnwick, Rice Lake, New Credit and Mud Lake; the Chippewa of Lake Huron, Lake Simcoe, Saugeen, Chenail Ecarte and St. Clair, and of the Thames; the Chippewa, Ottawas. &c., of Amherstburgh; Six Nations; Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte.[68]

According to the commissioners, by discontinuing the issue of gunpowder and ammunition in 1851 and 1853, $16,959 was saved and applied to existing schools that were government funded. The commissioners also noted that since the First Nations communities in Amherstburg, Grand River, and Bay of Quinte did not apply their annuities to support these schools, they did not receive money from this fund and believed these monies withheld from the two Six Nations communities at Grand River and the Mohawks of Bay of Quinte, should be returned to them. [69]

The commissioners further agreed with the 1847 commission that the lands at Grand River were becoming too much of a burden for the Indian Department administrators and an officer

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[67] *Report of the Special Commissioners Appointed on the 8th of September 1856 to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada*, n.p.

[68] *Report of the Special Commissioners Appointed on the 8th of September 1856 to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada*, n.p.

[69] One reason why these two Six Nations communities may not have been a part of this plan is the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte had a day school and the Six Nations at Grand River had multiple day schools and the Mohawk Institute within their territories. These schools were funded by the New England Company and not the British or Canadian governments during the period in question.

was needed on the ground to manage their affairs.[70] These commissions would affect future Six Nations military participation, as it would limit Six Nations ability to mobilize their own forces in support of the British and would increase their supervision by the British and Canadian governments by appointing an Indian Department superintendent, usually an ex or serving military man, to their Territory. By limiting their ability to mobilize their troops en masse, the people of Six Nations would find new ways to rally militarily in support of their British allies.

[70] *Report of the Special Commissioners Appointed on the 8th of September 1856 to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada*, n.p.

Chapter 5: Unwavering Support: The Six Nations as British Allies

While the British and Canadian governments continued to whittle down the expenses of the Indian Department, men from Six Nations communities continued to participate in exploration and military expeditions. According to Haudenosaunee scholar Richard W. Hill Sr., this participation stemmed from the Six Nations traditional ideal of men and warriors' desire to seek adventure and provide for their families. Drawing a line from traditional warriors to labourers, these men like the traders and trappers of the past, travelled great distances seeking adventure of the next job, and secure goods for their families back home. They were warriors, statesmen, explorers, loggers, voyagers, Wild West show performers, and ironworkers, "visiting foreign lands to defend the rights of their people."[1]

5.1 Six Nations Military Interventions

From 1790s to at least the 1850s, Six Nations men were actively part of the Euro-Canadian fur trade, first joining the North-West Company as fur traders, voyagers, and boatmen. From 1818 to 1855, Six Nations men, employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, received the Arctic Medal for their work in the exploration in the far north.[2] Carl Benn notes that, in 1850, a group of Six Nations men from the St. Lawrence Valley was recruited by the Crown into the Victoria Voltigers to serve in British Columba. This group served with the Royal Navy, sometimes against other First Nations groups.[3] Other Six Nations military and civilian forces continued to be recruited in support of their alliance with the British Crown. In 1870, Colonel Garnet Wolseley and a force of men set towards the Red River Colony with aid of boatmen who were serving with Hudson's Bay Company. The Six Nations men who were a part of

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[1] Richard Hill, *Skywalkers: A History of Indian Iron Workers* (Brantford: Woodland Indian Cultural Centre, 1987), 10, 26, 15, and 14.

[2] John Moses, Donald Graves, and Warren Sinclair, *A Sketch Account of Aboriginal Peoples in the Canadian Military* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2004), 44.

[3] Carl Benn, *Mohawks of the Nile: Natives Among the Canadian Voyageurs in Egypt* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009), 126-127.

this crew of boatmen impressed Wolseley with their skill and trails of strength in dangerous waters.[4] While this expedition made its way to the Red River Colony to put down the agitations of Louis Riel and the Métis, another group of Six Nations and other First Nations men stayed behind in Port Arthur to work on a colonization road into the lands north of Lake Superior. This hardly typical work crew continued to labour on this road project, which in the late 1840s, was brought to a halt by an attacking force of 100 First Nations people led by two non-First Nations men who believed the First Nations peoples should be compensated for their lands before the building of such a road.[5] By 1870, title to these lands was still not secured. Although in both these latter cases the Six Nations men were employed as labourers and were not part of a military force, they still were taking on the risk of soldiers in wartime, adding to their military experience in support of the Crown. Others, like Grand River Six Nations man John Armstrong, would enlist into the British army during this period, more directly supporting the Six Nations military connection to the British Crown.[6]

5.2 The Fenian Raids 1865-1866

In the 1860s, another military force threatened Canada and tested the Six Nations alliance with the British Crown. After the U.S. Civil War, the Fenian Brotherhood, made up of Irish veterans of the Civil War, came together in the United States to capture parts of Canada at various invasion points. Seeing their homeland again threatened from the United States, the Six Nations rallied to their old ally, the British Crown. The number of Six Nations people who volunteered for this service is unknown as, most likely, there was more than one group of Six Nations volunteers that left the Grand River Territory. One account, found in the semi-biographical book, *The Feathered U.E.L.s*, describes a story told to the author by his 93-year-

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[4] Moses, Graves, and Sinclair, 49.

[5] Elizabeth Arthur, "Beyond Superior: Ontario's New Found Land," in *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History*, edited by Roger Hall, William Westfall, and Laura Sifton McDowall (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988), 142 and 136.

[6] John A. Noon, *Law and Government of the Grand River Iroquois* (New York: Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology (No. 12) 1949), 133.

old grandmother about the Cayuga and Delaware mobilization that marched to Hamilton before being turned back after the invasion at Ridgeway. Also relayed to the author was the mass hysteria the raids caused in the surrounding areas outside of the Grand River Territory. Stories of the invasion had caused the local non-First Nations militia to form for drill, with "two rifle companies…drilling daily in Brantford. In the smaller centres of Paris, Villa Nova, York, Caledonia and Hagersville, the war fever ran high."[7] Local historian Roger Sharpe confirms this sentiment, stating that although only playing minor roles of home guard and prisoner details, the Paris, 1st and 2nd Brantford Highland, Mount Pleasant, and the Grand Trunk Railroad Rifle Company were mobilized.[8] Others, like the Six Nations, volunteered their services, with the community of Drumbo, and the non-gazetted 3rd Brantford Company offering men.[9] These communities even raised extra money to support their men and their families while they were in the field.[10] According to Montour's account, although only mentioning fifteen men by name, claims the Cayuga and Delaware contingent left with fifty volunteers.[11] In her retelling of another Six Nations mobilization, Evelyn H.C. Johnson noted that the Six Nations community feared for the worst,

> During the Fenian Raid, in 1865, we mounted the wood shed to see the train loads of soldiers (on their way to Buffalo) pass through the back of our farm. We could hear the guns near Fort Erie.
>
> Mother was upstairs preparing bandages for the wounded….
>
> Uncle Elliot came over to our house one day and found mother reduced to tears. Father had recruited some Indians, and we could see him on the other side of the river on his way to the Middleport Station. We could hear the Indian band playing. Uncle Elliot consoled her. The Indians never got any further than the station, however, as word was received that their services would not be required because the raid was under control.[12]

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[7] Enos T. Montour, *The Feathered U.E.L's: An Account of the Life and Times of Certain Canadian Native People* (Toronto: The United Church of Canada, 1973), 51 and 54.

[8] Roger Sharpe, *Soldiers and Warriors: The Early Volunteer Militia of Brant County, 1856-1866* (Brantford: Canadian Military Heritage Museum, 1998), 20 and 24.

[9] Sharpe, *Soldiers and Warriors*, 24 and 89.

[10] Jean H. Waldie, *The County of Brant: Centennial Sketches* (Paris, ON: Brant County Council, 1952), 31.

[11] Montour, 52.

[12] Evelyn H.C. Johnson, 61.

Official records note a third Six Nations force, made up of at least one hundred Six Nations men led by Visiting Superintendent Jasper Gilkison, left the Grand River Territory for the front. Like their participation in the 1837-38 Rebellions, this force received a lot of local press attention, which obscures the actual activities and effect this force may have had. This coverage also confuses the numbers of this force, with the *Hamilton Spectator* and the *Guelph Herald* claiming the force was 600 and the *Toronto Daily Globe*, *Hamilton Evening Times*, and the *London Free Press* reporting the force at 500 strong.[13] What was consistent in this press coverage was the fact that this support during the raids was based on the Six Nations/British Crown relationship. As the *Guelph Herald* reported, "True and Tried. The Chief of the Six Nations, on the Grand River, has offered their services of the six hundred warriors to aid in the defence against Fenian invasion, and application has been made for arms to be placed at their disposal. These faithful allies remain true to the flag as of old."[14] One local newspaper, showing the intergenerational links between Six Nations support during British conflicts, even reported that one of the Six Nations men, a veteran of the War of 1812, went to the front himself.[15]

Other Six Nations men found their way into the conflict as members of the Canadian militia. For example, Cornelius Moses organized a home guard at Grand River.[16] While completing his medical studies at the University of Toronto, Peter Martin, the later famed Dr. Oronhyatekha was a member of the Queen's Own Rifles. When the regiment was called out for active service at the Battle of Ridgeway on 2 June 1866, Martin was said to have gone with them.[17] Six Nations man Levi Tillson, along with his three brothers, served as members of the Burford Company 38th Battalion during the Raids and were called to active service.

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[13] *Hamilton Spectator*, 17 March 1866; *Guelph Herald*, 20 March 1866; *Toronto Daily Globe*, 6 June 1866; *Hamilton Evening Times*, 2 June 1866; and *The London Free Press*, 4 June 1866 as cited in Sharpe, *Soldiers and Warriors*, 28.

[14] *Guelph Herald*, 20 March 1866 as cited in Sharpe, *Soldiers and Warriors*, 28.

[15] *The Dumfries Reformer*, 6 June 1866 as cited in Sharpe, *Soldiers and Warriors*, 28.

[16] Moses, Graves, and Sinclair, 45 and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, John Moses, R. Scott Sheffield, and Maxime Gohier, *A Commemorative History of Aboriginal People in the Canadian Military* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2010), 52.

[17] Moses, Graves, and Sinclair, 45. According to Keith Jamieson and Michelle Hamilton, *Dr. Oronhyatekha: Security, Justice, and Equality* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2016), 117, although biographers note that Oronhyatekha participated in the battle of Ridgeway, there are no corresponding documents to prove this.

Although it is unclear what, if any, part of the fighting they took part in, they did march to Toronto to meet the Governor General, the Marquis of Lorne, and his wife Lady Lorne.[18] John Angus, a Six Nations man from Grand River who had moved to St. Regis, proved his service in South Huntington (now Hamilton) and received his Fenian Raid Medal from the Canadian government in 1903.[19] As noted by Enos Montour's and Evelyn Johnson's retelling of Six Nations wartime experiences, these stories were added to the Six Nations community repertoire of oral histories, and were still being told leading up to the First World War. According to a contemporary local historian, these stories still circulate at Grand River today.[20]

5.3 The Nile Expedition 1885

The 1885 Nile Expedition can be included among the pre-First World War oral traditions of the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory. In his book, *Mohawks of the Nile*, historian Carl Benn notes that although the culture surrounding Six Nations had changed, the Six Nations community fundamentally had not. They still understood their traditional military alliance with Britain and acted accordingly in a cultural continuum that extended from the beginning of their alliance with Britain to 1885.[21] Remembering his experience with the Mohawk boatmen from the Red River Expedition in 1870, General Sir Garnet Wolseley, wanted to recruit Mohawk and Canadian boatmen for the relief effort for General Gordon in Khartoum. Since this was an Imperial mission as dictated by John A. Macdonald, these men were to be outfitted by the British. The recruitment of these men by Lord Lansdowne followed the long held Six Nations custom of being asked by a representative of the British

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[18] Application of John Angus of the St. Regis Band and Levi Tillson of Hamilton for Fenian Raid Medals, 1866, 1870, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3017, File 219,680.

[19] Application of John Angus of the St. Regis Band and Levi Tillson of Hamilton for Fenian Raid Medals, 1866, 1870, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3017, File 219,680.

[20] Sharpe, *Soldiers and Warriors*, 28.

[21] Benn, *Mohawks of the Nile*, 10, 24, 29, 105, and 123.

Crown before they participated in a military campaign.[22] They were to navigate the Nile River, bringing men and supplies to the besieged General Gordon; however, mid-way through the expedition, they received word that Khartoum had fallen, forcing them to turn back. Although the Nile Expedition recruited First Nations and non-First Nations people, the only Six Nations people recruited for the expedition came from the Mohawk community of Kahnawake, Quebec, one of whom was born at Grand River where his family continued to live.[23] Although this mission received some notice by the Canadian government, with the House of Commons calling for the names of those who volunteered to be printed in their official records and even debated issuing their own medals to the veterans of the campaign, it remained an Imperial mission without official Canadian support.[24] Veterans did receive a Nile Expedition medal with a Kirbekan bar for their service from the British government. The dependents of the sixteen men who died on the Expedition, including one Saulteaux man and two men from Kahnawake, were paid the remainder of the monies owed to those soldiers, while their mothers and widows were cared for through special grants.[25]

5.4 Two Causes or One: A Case Study of the Anglo-Boer War

In 1899, the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory reached out to their alliance partner who was in distress after the disastrous opening days of the second Anglo-Boer War. The Chiefs of the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory wrote Queen Victoria, "offering Your Majesty a contingent of Chiefs and warriors, offered by Indians or those in connection with them to serve Your Majesty in the Transvaal if required in conformity with the customs and usages of their forefathers and in accordance with existing Treaties with the British

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[22] Benn, *Mohawks of the Nile*, 29 and 123.

[23] Benn, *Mohawks of the Nile*, 210.

[24] House of Commons, Debates, Vol. 1 and 2, 49 Vict., 1885 (Ottawa: McLean, Roger and Company (Queen's Printer), 1885), 210 and House of Commons, Debates, Vol. 1, 6-7 Edward VII, 1906-1907 **(**Ottawa: S.E. Dawson (King's Printer), 1906-7), 224.

[25] Moses, Graves, and Sinclair, 51.

Crown."[26] Although the letter went through the proper administrative channels – first, the Department of Indian Affairs in Canada, then forwarded to the Governor General, and last to British authorities – it received no response. When rumours began to circulate that Canada might be raising a second contingent of mounted troops for the war, Visiting Superintendent of Six Nations E.D. Cameron wrote the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs reminding him that "the Six Nations desire to assist in the defense of the British Empire, and having offered an Indian Contingent…The Six Nations are good horsemen, good marksmen and have proved first class soldiers."[27] Unlike their previous offer, this communication was directed to the Canadian Department of Militia and not the Imperial authorities. In February 1900, the Six Nations were notified through the Governor General, Lord Minto, that although Her Majesty gave her "sincere thanks for the loyal and sympathetic assurances contained in their Resolutions," she was "unable to avail herself of their patriotic offer."[28]

Although official offers of troops may have been rejected, as with the 1837-1839 Rebellions and the Fenian raids, this did not stop individual Six Nations people from trying to or actually enlisting. Following his father's footsteps of supporting the Six Nations alliance with the British Crown, Dr. W.A.H. Oronhyatekha, son of Grand River born and raised, and Fenian Raid veteran, Dr. Oronhyatekha, applied for the position of surgeon for the South Africa Police Force in January 1901. Although his name was put forward for consideration, it is unknown if he made it overseas.[29]

Two men even made it to South Africa. In April 1902, Grand River man Joseph Hanaven enlisted in Toronto with the 6th Canadian Mounted Rifles for service in South Africa. His time in South Africa would be brief, returning and being discharged at Halifax in July 1902.[30] Another veteran's journey to South Africa was less official. After failing to enlist in

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[26] Six Nations Council to Queen Victoria, 10 November 1899, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2991, File 215,977.

[27] E.D. Cameron to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, 21 December 1899, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2991, File 215,977.

[28] J. Chamberlain to Governor General Lord Minto, 13 February 1900, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2991, File 215,977.

[29] Dr. W.A.H. Oronhyatekha Application for the Position of Surgeon in the South Africa Police, LAC, RG9, Vol. 36, No. 19907.

[30] J.W. Martin, Commissioner, to A.F. MacKenzie, 29 October 1930, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2991, File 215,977.

the Canadian Mounted Rifles, Six Nations member John Brant-Sero, then living in Hamilton, Ontario, travelled to South Africa in the hopes of enlisting in one of the many British or South African mounted troops. When this turned out to be impossible, Brant-Sero found employment at the No. 4 Remount Depot in Queenstown where he brought fresh mounts to the front lines. He continued to apply to different mounted units in the hope of becoming a soldier, but to no avail.[31] Leaving South Africa, Brant-Sero went to London, England, trying to enlist in British army, again with no luck.[32] While in London, Brant-Sero was interviewed by the *London Daily News*. When asked whether or not the Six Nations "still cling to their ancient customs," Brant-Sero replied, "Yes, we are still faithful to the ways of our forefathers."[33] In his penned article in *The Times*, Brant-Sero citied the Six Nations/British alliance that dated back to Joseph Brant and the Six Nations homelands in New York State. He even included a letter from William Hamilton Merritt, a Canadian militia officer stationed in South Africa he had met in Canada through his membership in various historical societies. After failing to find Brant-Sero a placement in any regiment due to his race, Merritt noted that Brant-Sero's eagerness to serve, "is nothing more than I should expect from one of our faithful allies and Friends, the Six Nations Indians."[34]

5.5 The Anglo-Boer War: Outsider Responses

Six Nations participation in the Anglo-Boer war did not go unnoticed. As the first Imperial war in which the Canadian militia took part, with 8,300 Canadians enlisting and between 225 and 245 being killed in action, this war was also heavily reported on in local newspapers.[35] In

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[31] "A Canadian Indian and the War," *The Times*, 2 January 1902, 10.

[32] "A Canadian Indian and the War," *The Times*, 2 January 1902, 10 and "Views of a Mohawk Indian," *The Journal of American Folklore* 18, 69 (1905): 161.

[33] *The London Daily News* as cited in "Views of a Mohawk Indian," 161.

[34] William Hamilton Merritt to J.O. Brant-Sero, 8 November 1900 as cited in "A Canadian Indian and the War," *The Times*, 2 January 1901, 10.

[35] Desmond Morton, *Canada at War* (1981), 41 as cited in Glen T. Wright, "Serving the Empire: Canadians in South Africa, 1899-1902," *Families* 21,1 (1982): 26 and Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001), 39.

Brantford alone, over thirty stories about war appeared in the pages of *The Brantford Expositor*, including the Six Nations offer to send a contingent to South Africa.[36] This number does not include soldiers' letters home that were also published by *The Expositor*.[37] The war was also popularized and serialized for children through books and magazines with stories of soldiers and their leaders designed to show children the ideals they should emulate. Other publications channeled Imperial wars to demonstrate the advances in science for the child interested in science and technology or to showcase athletic ideals.[38]

Locally, volunteers for the war were idealized. In Haldimand County, the soldiers were lionized in the local press and in written local histories.[39] Those who volunteered in Brantford were paraded through the streets to the train station and from the station to their homes upon their return.[40] Locally, patriotic concerts, slide shows, and lectures about the war were largely attended, and during major victories including when the end of the war was announced, large celebrations were held and a general holiday was declared. In Brantford, parades ended at the armouries where all would listen to speeches from local politicians.[41] In all, thirty men from Brantford enlisted in the war while twelve enlisted from Haldimand County. Three men from Brantford and three from Haldimand County were killed in action and their deaths memorialized on monuments in the centre of town.[42] The common sacrifice of the Six Nations and non-Six Nations communities would bring both communities closer together.

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[36] Gary Muir Files, Private Collection.

[37] Wayne Hunter Files, Private Collection.

[38] Moss, 39, 55, 75, and 84.

[39] Robert Bertram Nelles, *County of Haldimand in the Days of Auld Lang Syne* (Port Hope, ON: The Hamly Press, 1905), 89-90 and Robin S. Kerr, "Military History of Seneca Township," in Village of York Scrap Book, Haldimand County Museum and Archives, 52.

[40] Gary Muir, *Brantford: A City's Century* vol. 1: 1895-2000 (Brantford: Tupuna Press, 1999), 37.

[41] Muir, 37 and 111 and *Grand Heritage: A History of Dunnville and the Townships of Canborough, Dunn, Moulton, Sherbrooke, and South Cayuga*, edited by Cheryl MacDonald (Dunnville: Dunnville District Heritage Association, 1992), 153, 155, and 156.

[42] Muir, 37 and Haldimand County Military File, Haldimand County Museum and Archives.

5.6 The Six Nations Uniformed Transition

Although 1863 marks the first time the Six Nations officially participated within the structure of the British/Canadian Militia system, there are some reports of some Six Nations participation either at annual militia drill or participating individually in other established local militia units in the 1860s. As mentioned, not only did Six Nations people form their own armed bodies of men to protect their Territory, they also participated in the British militia system in Canada. According to historians, this period of Six Nations participation in the British and Canadian militia system, however, marks the break between Six Nations fighting as an independent nation and them accepting their military's place within the larger Canadian military.[43] As exemplified in the many instances above, Six Nations men, as they did in traditional Six Nations culture, could chose to fight in conflicts not directly supported by the Six Nations Confederacy.

Historians also argue that since supplies were not coming from the Six Nations community, especially from women who traditionally equipped men for war, they were unable to independently prepare for war.[44] However, that claim is suspect. As noted in Evelyn Johnson's and Enos Montour's description of the Fenian Raids at Six Nations, women were still working on the home front either getting things ready for the men about to march off to fight or preparing to care for the wounded. Six Nations women were also responsible for turning cloth and other supplies procured through the annual presents into equipment and clothing for their men. Whether forming as an independent armed force or as part of the militia, equipment and clothing was provided to the individual soldier by their family as well as by the British and Canadian government. In conflicts like the Fenian Raids, supplies came

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[43] Timothy C. Winegard, *For King and Kanata: Canadian Indians and the First World War* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), 7-10 and 161; R. Scott Sheffield, "Indifference, Difference and Assimilation: Aboriginal People in Canadian Military Practice," in *Aboriginal People and the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives*, edited by P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Craig Leslie Mantle (Kingston: Canadian Academy Press, 2007), 57; and John Moses, "The Return of the First Nations: Six Nations Veterans and Political Change at the Grand River Reserve, 1917-1924," in *Aboriginal People and the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives*, 117-128.

[44] John Moses, "Aboriginal Participation in Canadian Military Service," *The Army Doctrine and Training Bulletin* 3, 3 (Fall 2000). (http://www.civilization.ca/research-and-collections/research/resources-for-scholars/essays-1/first-peoples/john-moses/aboriginal-participation-in-canadian-military-service/).

from the Six Nations community and the British government through annual presents. In active combat situations, like the War of 1812, Rebellions of 1837-38, and Imperial Expeditions to Red River in 1870 and on the Nile in 1885, equipment for these men was supplied by annual presents or the British military stores. Lastly, historians argue that in the period after the Fenian raids, Six Nations men lacked the ability to form armed bodies under their own leadership and command.[45] This can be challenged through close analysis of archival and published records.

5.7 The Tuscarora Rifle Company

Although they had participated in the sedentary militia system, the first instance of the Six Nations forming their own officially recognized militia company was in 1862: the Tuscarora Rifle Company, led by Captain William John Simcoe Kerr, Lieutenant Henry Clench, and Ensign John Buck. This company shows an early example of Six Nations integrating their own leadership into the British Canadian militia system. Kerr was the great grandson of Joseph Brant on one side and great great-grandson of Brant on the other side of his family. His father, William Johnson Kerr, had fought at Queenston Heights and Beaver Dams in 1812.[46] Although the Kerr family's relationship with Six Nations was strained, they still held some influence in Grand River politics. In a commission in 1843, William Johnson Kerr confirmed this strain when he stated that although he had not lived on the Grand River lands since 1838, he was "interested in the land and money affairs of the Six Nations Indians residing at Grand River, both by blood and marriage."[47] This influence was recognized in 1866 when William John Simcoe Kerr was nominated as a Chief of the Six Nations in place

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[45] John Moses, "Aboriginal Participation in Canadian Military Service," n.p.

[46] Mrs. John Rose Holden, "The Brant Family," *Journal and Transactions of the Wentworth Historical Society* 4 (1905): 82, 85, and 86 and Roger Sharpe, *Soldiers and Warriors*, 75.

[47] Holden, 85; J. Thorburn to R. Pennefather 30 September 1858, LAC, RG10, Vol. 242, Records of the Civil Secretary's Office – Correspondence 1844-1861; and *Report of the Select Committee to take into Consideration the System of Granting Indians Lands in Niagara and Gore Districts*, Appendix to the Third Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, 1843.

of the death of Joseph Brant's son, John Brant.[48] Henry Clench and John Buck lived at Grand River and became Chiefs of the Six Nations, with Buck becoming the speaker of the Six Nations Council from 1892-1893. In all, sixty-four Six Nations men enlisted in this company and were trained and equipped by the British Canadian government. Disbanded in 1864, most likely due to an inability to find a drill sergeant to train the company, the idea of an all-Six Nations militia company was championed by Visiting Superintendent Jasper Gilkison in the wake of the Fenian Raids, but not taken up by the British Canadian government.[49]

5.8 The 37th Haldimand Rifles

After the disbanding of the Tuscarora Rifle Company, more than ten years passed before Six Nations men again volunteered their services in the Canadian militia. In 1866, the 37th Haldimand Rifles was formed after the absorption of the Dunnville and other rifle companies in Haldimand County into a single unit. Having established companies in the non-Six Nations communities of Dunnville, York, Caledonia, Ballsville, Hullsville, Cheapside, Hagersville, and Mount Healy, the Haldimand Rifles apparently did not recruit from the Six Nations community at Grand River. However, in 1875, 21-year-old Joseph Clinch enlisted in the 37th Haldimand Rifles becoming one of the first Six Nations enlistments in the battalion.[50] The enlistment of Six Nations men may have been due to the fact that the Haldimand Rifles, as rural corps, had problems maintaining their numbers with companies, due to low numbers, having to disband and reestablish themselves from year to year. In a narrative written by Private Andrew Greenhill of Hamilton's 13th Battalion, who observed the 37th Haldimand Rifles at camp Niagara, there may have been other organizational problems plaguing the unit, with Greenhill stating that, after marching to Fort Mississauga,

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[48] Holden, 86; Canadian Military Heritage Museum, Roger Sharpe Files, Tuscarora Company File; and Sharpe, *Soldiers and Warriors*, 75.

[49] Jasper Gilkison to P. MacDougal, 18 August 1866, Canadian Military Heritage Museum, Roger Sharpe Files, Tuscarora Company File.

[50] Nominal Roll, 3 Company, 37th Haldimand Rifles, July 1881 at Camp Niagara, LAC, RG9-II-6, Vol. 98.

> Jim & I went to the barracks occupied by the caretaker to get a drink of water. We found the barricades shut and after knocking some time a female voice called out – "whos there." 13th Guard we replied. The door then was opened. The woman looked at us and then said gladly: Oh I know your regiment. You are decent fellows. I am so glad you have come. I have been terrified the whole week by some rascals of the 37th and 38th & other regts. She then told us that she had to send her two daughters into town and barred up the windows with the oaken shutters which were intended to protect our forefathers against an invading foe. But this time I blush to say an unprotected female had to bolt them against Canadian volunteers.[51]

Although it can be debated if the Haldimand Rifles were as bad as depicted by Greenhill, their commander Lieutenant Colonel R.D. Davis noted in 1873 that that he had six companies of men in mismatched clothing and uniforms, with serviceable knapsacks and rifles, but in his opinion, the regiment's uniforms looked "fifthly through carelessness and neglect."[52]

What is harder to pinpoint is the date when Six Nations men were actively recruited to this unit. According to the nominal rolls and camp lists submitted to military authorities, Six Nations men began enlisting in 1875 and 1876; their recruitment, however, was not consistent until the 1890s. Six Nations men appeared on the rolls for one year and not the next, showing a steady turnover.

Many local histories produced in Haldimand County link Six Nations enlistment to the recruitment of William Van Loon, New Credit's Indian agent, in late 1887 or when Colonel Andrew Thompson became head of the regiment in 1893.[53] Frederick Loft, who enlisted in 1881, thought the date for Six Nations enlistment was in 1890 when Six Nations Chief and Captain in the Haldimand Rifles, J.S. Johnson began recruiting.[54] For the most part, these recruits were used to fill gaps in companies that lacked men, a practice continued into the

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[51] Andrew Greenhill as cited by Cameron Pulsifer, "Narrative of the Volunteer Camp at Niagara June 1871," *Canadian Military History* 12, 4 (2003): 49.

[52] R.H. Davis as cited in Pulsifer, 41.

[53] Don Brown, *Down Memory Lane: A Glimpse of Hagersville's Past* (Hagersville: Hagersville Historical Group, 1992), 10 and A.R. Thompson "'Queen and Country!': The Active Militia of Haldimand, 1856-1901," Haldimand Country Museum and Archives.

[54] Fredrick Onondeyoh Loft, "Militarism Among the Indians of Yesterday and To-day," *Selected Papers from the Canadian Military Institute*, 17 (1909): 49.

First World War when commanding officer Colonel E.S. Baxter posted Six Nations men to guard the Haldimand Rifles' various armories.[55] Six Nations men most frequently joined the York Company, as well as those from Caledonia and Mount Healy.[56]

The addition of Six Nations men seemed to have a positive effect on the unit. By 1889, the Haldimand Rifles were parading one full company of Six Nations men at the annual training camp at Niagara-on-the-Lake. In his comments, the reviewing officer, Lieutenant Colonel W.D. Otter stated that the regiment was "the cleanest regimental lines in Camp. A peculiarity in this Corps was the band and one Company were entirely composed of Indians who proved excellent soldiers."[57] By 1893, the Six Nations enlistment grew to include two companies in the Haldimand Rifles.[58] Again, the reviewing officer was positive about the progress of the regiment, stating they had "good physique. Fully half the rank and file are Indian, who though slow to acquire drill, make first rate soldiers. Weak in officers, many of whom are not yet qualified. A very steady corps."[59] As military officials began to recognize the ability of Six Nations men as soldiers, the Haldimand Rifles began to see their presence as a solution to recruitment challenges. According to the nominal rolls, from the 1890s to the First World War not only did the number of Six Nations men increase, the turnover rate of the 1870s disappeared, with many of the same men appearing on the rolls year after year.[60] Positive assessments of the regiment continued into 1914, with many reviewers noting that about half of the regiment was recruited from Six Nations.[61] However, a review in 1911 identified one problem with the recruitment of Six Nations. According to Lieutenant Colonel Andrew T. Thompson, the regiment had shrunk to half strength as "the Indians, in large numbers, have gone berry-picking for the fruit farmers of the Niagara District. For this reason…the regiment

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[55] Order Book of Lt. Col. E.S. Baxter, Commanding 37th Regt. Cayuga Ontario, Haldimand County Museum and Archives.

[56] Nominal Rolls of the 37th Haldimand Rifles, 1877-1891, LAC, RG9-II-6, Vol. 98.

[57] Sessional Paper Number 22 1889 as cited in A.R. Thompson, 24.

[58] Sessional Paper Number 14, 1893.

[59] Sessional Paper Number 27, 1893 as cited in A.R. Thompson, 27.

[60] Nominal Rolls of the 37th Haldimand Rifles, Camp Niagara,1891-1914, LAC, RG9-II-6, Vol. 98.

[61] Inspection Reports – Haldimand Rifles, 1902-1913, LAC, R112-552-8-E.

should never be called out late in June."[62] At its peak from the 1890s-1914, the Haldimand Rifles was made up of eight companies – two from non-Six Nations communities, one to two companies a mix of Six Nations and non-Six Nations men, and four to five companies made up entirely of Six Nations men.[63]

The high enlistment of Six Nations men also had other implications. One result was the growing Six Nations leadership role in the regiment. In December 1891, the Six Nations Council approved a loan of $50.00 to send Joseph Clench to the Military School in Toronto so he could advance his rank in the Haldimand Rifles from Lieutenant to Captain, a promotion confirmed in 1896.[64] From 1900 onward, other Six Nations men began to fill the commissioned officer ranks of the Haldimand Rifles.[65] The nominal rolls also record the increasing trend of Six Nations men promoted to non-commissioned officer positions. Reviewers noted that, by 1907, half of the non-commissioned officers of the battalion were from Six Nations.[66] With the establishment of the Ohsweken Company of the Regiment in 1901, the Six Nations were able to form their own military unit on their own Territory led by their own military leaders, establishing their own military through the Canadian militia system. Similar to the Cardwell and Childers reforms of the 1870s and 1880s in Britain, and the Canadian reforms to their militia by Hutton (see Chapter 3), locating a company of the Haldimand Rifles within the Six Nations Territory brought about local pride in a home regiment that continued into the First World War.

Another effect of their high enlistment was the racialization of this regiment. Although one to two companies of the regiment were integrated, reviewers at the annual camp at Niagara-on-the-Lake made a point of signaling out the Six Nations versus the non-Six Nations troops. Since their annual reviews at Camp Niagara in 1889, reviewers always noted that there were Six Nations troops in the regiment, but by 1909, the reviewer Major General W.H. Cotton

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[62] Inspection Report by A.T. Thompson, Camp Niagara, 1911, LAC, R112-552-8-E.

[63] Nominal Rolls of the 37th Haldimand Rifles, 1890-1914, LAC, RG9-II-6, Vol. 98.

[64] E.D. Cameron to Lawrence Vankoughnet, 16 December 1891, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2606, File 122,342 and Nominal Roll of 3 Company, 37th Haldimand Rifles, Camp Niagara, LAC, 1896, RG9-II-6, Vol. 98.

[65] Nominal Rolls – Haldimand Rifles, 1900-1914, LAC, RG9-II-6, Vol. 98.

[66] Inspection Report, Camp Niagara, 1907, LAC, R112-552-8-E.

noted that "Indian Company steady & of splendid physique. White companies fair." These comments continued in all subsequent reports until 1913, with Cotton noting again in 1910 "The four Indian Companies are excellent in all respects. The white companies indifferent" and in 1912, when commenting on the regiment's instruction, training, and efficiency as a unit at maneuvers and field duties, "Very good. Indians especially good. White companies young and not up to the others." He further noted "Very good in Indian Cos. in all respects. Other four Cos. not quite as good."[67] Other stereotypes also began to appear in the reports of the reviewers, with Cotton again stating in 1912 that "in night operations the Indians are especially useful" in comparison to their non-Six Nations counterparts.[68] In his report in 1913 Major General F.L. Lassard made the note "This Regiment is composed chiefly of Indians and they take their duties very seriously and do not allow pleasure to interfere with duty."[69] Although these stereotypes may have been based in the truthful reporting and behavior of the Six Nations troops in the Haldimand Rifles, the images of the savage Indian nighttime raider and First Nations warrior who would sacrifice all pleasure for their duty was rampant in Victorian and Edwardian racialization of First Nations people as can be seen in Chapter 3.

Another aspect of the regiment that has been well documented is the fact that the entirety of the 37th's band was made up of Six Nations men, as recommended by Six Nations officer Captain Joseph Clench in 1885.[70] By 1896, the Grand River Band had formed; its twenty-one Six Nations members paraded with the Haldimand Rifles at Camp Niagara.[71] In a show of support for their men enlisting in the Haldimand Rifles, the Six Nations Council purchased instruments for the band in October 1896.[72] As a popular novelty, the band not only caught the eye of many inspecting officers and played shows at Camp Niagara including the 37th's

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[67] Inspection Report, Camp Niagara, 1909, 1910, and 1912, LAC, R112-552-8-E.

[68] Inspection Report, Camp Niagara, 1912, LAC, R112-552-8-E.

[69] Inspection Report, Camp Niagara, 1913, LAC, R112-552-8-E.

[70] Thompson, "Queen and Country!," 28 and Six Nations Agency – Brantford District – General Correspondence and Accounts Regarding a Brass Band, LAC, RG10, Vol. 8484, File 479/24-7.

[71] A.R. Thompson, "Queen and Country!," 28.

[72] General Correspondence and Accounts Regarding a Brass Band, LAC, RG10, Vol. 8484, File 479/24-7.

last pre-war training camp in 1914,[73] but was also invited to perform throughout Canada and the United States.[74] The all-Six Nations band seemed to be a constant presence in the regiment, except for a short disbandment in 1901 and continued with the formation of the 114th Battalion during the First World War.[75]

5.9 Other Uniformed Transitions: Six Nations in Civil War

While the Six Nations community at Grand River continued their military participation within and on behalf of the British and Canadian governments, their relatives in the United States were doing the same. Unlike their British counterparts, the government of the United States did not like the idea of First Nations troops acting as independent auxiliaries to American forces and, beginning with the War of 1812,[76] recruited and enlisted Six Nations men as members of the United States militia.[77] As previously noted, this would not happen for the Grand River Six Nations until the 1830s.

Following the War of 1812, the U.S. government, similar to that of the British and later Canadian governments, sought to assimilate their First Nations population into the ideals of the American state. Although this meant the curbing of Aboriginal military power, the U.S. government was also willing to enlist the help of Aboriginal forces in various conflicts into

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[73] Richard D. Merritt, *Training for Armageddon: Niagara Camp in the Great War, 1914-1919* (Victoria, BC: Friesen Press, 2015), 46.

[74] Robin Kerr, "Military History of Seneca Township," Village of York Scrapbook, 56, Haldimand Country Museum and Archives and Inspection Report, Camp Niagara, 1903-1904, 1906, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, and 1912, LAC, R112-552-8-E.

[75] A.R. Thompson, "Queen and Country!", 28 and Inspection Report, Camp Niagara, 1903-1904, 1906, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, and 1912, LAC, R112-552-8-E.

[76] According to Lawrence M. Hauptman, *The Iroquois in the Civil War: From Battlefield to Reservation* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 105, Six Nations enlistees, although enlisting the United States militia, still viewed their participation in the War of 1812 to be outside of the U.S. militia system as they were commanded by their own chiefs.

[77] Tom Holm, *Strong Hearts Wounded Souls: First Nations American Veterans of the Vietnam War* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 20; Carl Benn, *The Iroquois in the War of 1812* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 121; and George F. G. Stanley, "The Indians in the War of 1812," in *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 117.

the late 1870s on an ad hoc basis.[78] This military service was also seen as a way to assimilate First Nations people. By integrating First Nations peoples into existing non-First Nations regiments, and by placing First Nations people under the command of non-First Nations commanders, not only was it hoped that these First Nations soldiers would assimilate into the American fold, but their service was also seen as proof that First Nations people wanted to become American citizens.[79] The only time First Nations people in the U.S. were not under non-First Nations command was the Civil War.

Although denounced during a meeting of U.S. and Canadian Six Nations at the Newton Longhouse at Cattaraugus in 1862, as the U.S. Civil War was considered a white man's conflict and therefore outside of the concerns of Six Nations,[80] the number of Six Nations that either fought, or had family members who were fighting in the conflict ensured that the war would not only be closely followed, but also added to the Six Nations experience of military tradition.

One of the most famous Six Nations Civil War leaders was Ely S. Parker. Raised in a traditional Seneca family and later given a traditional Chief's title, Parker also followed a military lineage; his father and uncle served in the War of 1812 under Red Jacket. Although growing up while traditional languages and lifestyles were still readily practiced, Parker was also well versed in the non-First Nations world, receiving a Baptist school education.[81] After receiving this education, Parker was sent to the Grand River Territory by his relatives for two years to reorient Parker to traditional life.[82] Upon his return to Tonawanda, Parker continued

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[78] Tom Holm, *Strong Hearts Wounded Souls*, 20 and "Strong Hearts: First Nations Service in the U.S. Armed Forces," in *Aboriginal Peoples and Military Participation: Canada and International Perspectives*, edited by P. Whitney Lackenbauer, R. Scott Sheffield, and Craig Leslie Mantle (Kingston, ON: Defence Academy Press, 2007), 134.

[79] Tom Holm, *Strong Hearts Wounded Souls*, 20 and "Strong Hearts: First Nations Service in the U.S. Armed Forces," 136 and 138.

[80] Hauptman, *Iroquois in the Civil War*, 21 and 22 and Parker, *Parker on the Iroquois*, 146. Like they had in times before, Six Nations Chiefs left it up to individuals whether or not they wanted to participate in the conflict.

[81] William H. Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps: Union General and Seneca Chief* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989), 8 and 17.

[82] Armstrong, 17 and "Marking the Grave of Do-ne-ho-geh-weh" in *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society* vol. 8, edited by Frank H. Severance (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1905), 350.

his studies in law and engineering, and furthered his contacts in the non-First Nations world, joining the 54th New York volunteers in 1845 and the Masonic Lodge.[83] Like other traditional Six Nations people at this time, Parker used his connections outside the Six Nations community to garner support for Six Nations causes. Through the Masonic Lodge, Parker had the ear of upper to middle class non-First Nations men, educating them on the plight of the people of Tonawanda.[84] This was best shown with Parker's connection to the fraternal order, the Grand Order of the Iroquois. After a chance meeting with the order's creator, Lewis Henry Morgan, in a book store, Morgan and Ely S. Parker traded his knowledge of the Six Nations culture for Morgan's legal help fighting the Ogden Land Company's taking of Seneca land.[85]

Parker's rising military career began with a similar chance meeting. While working on a government engineering project in Galena Illinois, Parker met Ulysses S. Grant. After Parker distinguished himself during the Vicksburg Campaign, Grant appointed him a member of his staff,[86] first as assistant adjunct general with the rank of Captain in May 1863 and later as Grant's secretary. In 1865, he was appointed a brevetted brigadier general of volunteers and was appointed first lieutenant of U.S. cavalry in 1866, a post he did not resign until 1869. By March 1867, he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General.[87] Although Parker would claim he was only a staff officer during the war, he was with Grant at Vicksburg, Chattanooga, the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, and Appomattox Court House, where, with his legal training, drafted the terms of capitulation of the Confederate forces under General Robert E. Lee to Grant's Union forces.[88] While Parker's three year term

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[83] Armstrong, 36 and 55.

[84] Armstrong, 54 and 69 and Joy Porter, *First Nations American Freemasonry: Associationalism and Performance in America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 13, 14, 50, and 228.

[85] Robert E. Bieder, "The Grand Order of the Iroquois: Influences on Lewis Henry Morgan's Ethnology," *Ethnohistory* 27, 4 (1980): 353.

[86] Aren Akweks, *Monuments to Six Nations Indians* (Hogansburg, New York: Akwesasne Mohawk Counselor Organization, no date), 34.

[87] "Marking the Grave of Do-ne-ho-geh-weh," 512.

[88] "Marking the Grave of Do-ne-ho-geh-weh," 534.

as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1869 to 1871 can be at times controversial,[89] he continued his work with his community at Tonawanda and veterans of the war, joining the Grand Army of the Republic and the Loyal Legion of the United States, and attending many veterans' reunions.[90]

Another Six Nations traditional Chief, Cornelius Cusick, led Six Nations troops into battle during the war. Cusick, like Parker, had a fighting lineage; his grandfather, Nicholas Kaghnatsho, served as the interpreter to the Marquis de Lafayette during the American Revolution. In 1862, Cusick enlisted in 132nd New York State Volunteers, becoming a first Lieutenant in 1863. According to historian Lawrence Hauptman, Cusick would be the last Six Nations leader to lead Six Nations men into battle. Also, like Parker, Cusick would continue his service with the U.S. government, fighting as a full Lieutenant during the Indian Wars from 1866 throughout the 1870s. Although fighting against other First Nations people and serving the US government, the stories of Cusick's military exploits, like those of Parker, were added to the Six Nation oral history of their military.[91]

Alongside these leaders, other Six Nations men in the U.S. and Canada enlisted in the U.S. Civil War. Cusick's "D" Company of the 132nd New York State Volunteers had 25 Six Nations volunteers, with others transferring into the regiment as space became available.[92] Another 25 Six Nations men from St. Regis enlisted in the 98th New York Volunteer Infantry.[93] Out of a reserve of 1,100, between 111-142 men from the Oneida of Wisconsin enlisted, mostly in the 3rd and 14th Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry. Of this number, 46 Oneida would die during their service.[94] Although most served in the infantry, Six Nations men can

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[89] Armstrong 137-165 and Mark Rifkin, "The Silence of Ely S. Parker: The Emancipation Sublime and the Limits of Settler Memory," *NAIS: Journal of the First Nations American Studies Association* 1, 2 (2014): 1-43.

[90] Armstrong, 169 and 184.

[91] Lawrence M. Hauptman ed., "'War Eagle': Lieutenant Cornelius C. Cusick," in *Seven Generations of Iroquois Leadership: The Six Nations Since 1800* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2008), 105, 108, 112, and 113 and *The Iroquois in the Civil War*, 5.

[92] Hauptman, *Iroquois in the Civil War*, 11.

[93] Armstrong, 80.

[94] Hauptman, *Iroquois in the Civil War*, 67 and Herbert Lewis ed., *Oneida Lives: Long Lost Voices of the Wisconsin Oneidas* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 397n17.

be found in all branches of service, including scouts/sharpshooters, cavalry, artillery, navy, and even the Marines. In the 1892 U.S. census, Census Commissioner Thomas Donaldson counted 162 Six Nations veterans of the war from five Six Nations communities.[95]

With improved communications and soldiers writing letters to family members and missionaries, the deeds of these veterans were well known within their home communities. [96] Their service was celebrated publicly through local fairs, reunions of the Grand Army of the Republic, and other community ceremonies.[97] The continuation and power of the Six Nations military was even noted by Donaldson, who stated,

> Their phenomenal fighting capacity, coupled with the rapidity of movement and power of concentration of their fighting men, gave the impression of a vast number of warriors. It can be stated with almost a certainty that the league of the Iroquois since the advent of the European on the American continent and up to 1880 never exceeded 15,000 persons, and it never had an available fighting force of more than 2,500 men; and the astonishing fact is presented by the census of 1890 and the statistics of non-resident Iroquois tribes that the league of the Iroquois is stronger in 1890 than it was in 1660, when first estimated by competent Europeans. In 1660 it was estimated at 11,000; in 1890 it is 15,870.[98]

Veterans of the Civil War would use their status as veterans for political good. Within their own communities, Civil War veterans assumed roles within the community previously held by veterans of the War of 1812.[99] Others, like John Archiquette from the Wisconsin Oneida, was able to gain employment as an interpreter and Captain of the Indian Police Force.[100] Others still used their veterans' status to challenge the U.S. government. In 1876, Six Nations veteran Abraham Elm was tried for illegally voting in a U.S. election. Although winning the right to vote as a veteran, the court decision also ruled that the Oneida living in New York

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[95] Thomas Donaldson, *Extra Census Bulletin. Indians. The Six Nations of New York: Cayuga, Mohawks (St. Regis), Oneidas, Onondagas, Seneca, Tuscaroras* (Washington, D.C.: United States Census Printing Office, 1892), 16. This numeration did not include Six Nations communities outside of New York, and therefore did not include the numeration of the veterans from the Wisconsin Oneida.

[96] Hauptman, *Iroquois in the Civil War*, 4, 34, and 141.

[97] Hauptman, *Iroquois in the Civil War*, 146-147; Donaldson, 49; and Lewis, 360.

[98] Donaldson, 1.

[99] Hauptman, *Iroquois in the Civil War*, 147.

[100] Lewis, 404n18.

had ceased being an independent people and were citizens of the state. This decision was not reversed until 1920.[101]

5.10 The Six Nations and the Civil War in Canada

In Canada, the U.S. Civil War was closely followed, with 50,000 Canadian men enlisting in the Union forces. Others harboured latent Southern sympathies that would continue into the post war years with Montreal and Niagara-on-the-Lake becoming home to exiled Confederates including Jefferson Davis.[102] Stories of the war were also well known in and around the Grand River Territory. A local historian even noted that the formation of Brantford's first military unit was raised in response to this war.[103]

The neighbouring First Nations community of New Credit had three members who fought during the Civil War, including Charles Jones, the son of Rev. Peter Jones. Upon his return from service in the Union forces, Charles joined the Canadian Volunteers at Sarnia to guard the Canadian border from Fenian invasion.[104] Other Six Nations communities contributed to the Union war effort including one veteran from the Bay of Quinte and another from the Oneida community on the Thames River.[105] Peter Garlow, a Mohawk man from St. Regis, testified to the New York State of Assembly in 1888 about his ex-serviceman father, who was killed during his service and the effect this loss had on his French Canadian mother and his family plight thereafter.[106] According to the Department of Indian Affairs files, only one Grand River man received a pension for his military service in the war, but there may have

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[101] Robert W. Venables, "Introduction," *in The Six Nations of New York: The 1892 United States Extra Census Bulletin* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), xvi.

[102] Wentzell, 63 and Mayers, 208 and 212.

[103] Doulas F. Reville, *History of the County of Brant* vol. 2 (Branford: The Hurly Printing Company, 1920), 432.

[104] Allen Sherwin, *Bridging Two Peoples: Chief Peter E. Jones 1843-1909* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2012), 63 and Lloyd King, Warrior's Symposium, held at the Woodland Cultural Centre, 14 November 1986, tape four.

[105] LAC, RG10, Vol. 2534, File 110,707 and LAC, RG10, 3084, File 275,650.

[106] Hauptman, *Iroquois in the Civil War*, 137.

been other veterans from Grand River who remain unaccounted. In 1863, it was brought to the Six Nations Confederacy Council's attention that Squire Davis, a man with some Six Nations heritage, was getting Grand River Six Nations men drunk, enlisting them in the Union army, and collecting their signing bonus monies.[107] Therefore, it is possible that other Grand River men may have served in the Civil War, albeit reluctantly. Whatever their circumstance of enlistment, these stories of Six Nations participation in the U.S. Civil War would have been added to the Six Nations' understanding of their military traditions.

[107] Stephen Heeny, *Scratchings Across Cultures: A Memoir of Denial and Discovery* (Stephen Heeny, 2011), 84 and 88 and Noon, 168.

Chapter 6: Six Nations and Uninvited Military Participation

When military historians assess Six Nations military participation, they usually miss instances where military ideas were forced on the people of Six Nations. Two major instances of this can be found within the Mohawk Institute Cadet Corps and the potential formation of the Royal Six Nations Regiment. Although both of these forms of military participation were imposed on the Six Nations without their consent, these impositions would affect the way Six Nations and non-Six Nations would respond to the First World War.

6.1 The Mohawk Institute Cadet Corps

Beginning in 1834, the Mohawk Institute residential school was formed in partnership with the Six Nations of Grand River and the New England Company. By the 1870s, what began as partnership promoting the education the youth of Six Nations had turned into the forceful "civilizing" of Six Nations children into the Euro-Canadian fold. At the centre of this shift was military-style training and Rev. Robert Ashton. Ashton, a former schoolmaster and second clerk at the Middlesex Industrial School in Feltham, England, took over the supervision of the school 1872.[108] Upon arrival, Ashton openly criticized the lenient treatment of the students by the former superintendent of the school, Rev. Abram Nelles. Finding discipline lacking and the school generally disorganized, Ashton immediately began a militaristic system to create order among his student charges.[109] Although a cadet corps would not be officially formed within the school until 1909, Ashton broke the students up into squads lead by sergeants and corporals, created good conduct badges, "black lists," and taught the students "lining up and marching to the dining-room, the classroom, the chapel, etc."[110] He also established a parade square on the school grounds where children would

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[108] *Report of the New England Company 1871-1872*, 101.

[109] Elizabeth Graham, *The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools* (Waterloo, ON: Heffle Publishing, 1997), 9.

[110] Graham 9, 23, 40 and 90.

form up and number themselves off before going about their daily chores.[111] By 1894, the boys of the school were placed in a grey uniforms with polished boots, taught drill, and put on military displays for visiting officials and the Brantford public.[112] After the retirement of his father in 1903, A. Nelles Ashton took over the supervision of the school and officially established #161 Mohawk Institute Cadet Corps under the sponsorship of the Canadian government in 1909.

This cadet training and military style drill was far from innocent. To the Department of Indian Affairs, drill was a tool of assimilation, retraining the bodies and movements of the Institute's students from the movements and actions needed to function in traditional Six Nations culture into those needed for state service and the middle class workforce.[113] The lessons were clear to the non-First Nations population of Brantford, with *The Brantford Expositor*, explaining, "[n]owhere is the necessity for physical development long with the brain culture more readily recognized than in the Mohawk Institute" as drill and the cadet program taught the children "a wholesome regard for authority."[114]

Established to control students, constant military training also ensured that the Mohawk Institute cadets' drill and other routines were award winning. Beginning in 1898, at a local drill competition during Brantford's Dominion/Gala Day celebrations at Agriculture Park, the Mohawk Institute corps performed against the local high school, the Brantford Collegiate Institute cadet corps. The latter was made up of Brantford's upper to middle class families and was regularly trained by local militia regiment the 38th Dufferin Rifles as part of their all-school cadet company. The judges declared the drill of the Mohawk Institute cadets "to be the best of its kind ever seen in Brantford."[115] According to Robert Ashton, the cadets

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[111] Graham, 91.

[112] Graham, 93 and 96.

[113] Janice Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning: Sports and Games at Canadian Residential Schools," in *Indigenous Peoples and Sport: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Issues*, edited by Janice Forsyth and Audrey R. Giles (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012), 22, 23, and 24

[114] Bell Homestead National Historic Site, "Souvenir Old Boys Reunion Edition," *The Brantford Expositor*, 28-29 December 1899, 29.

[115] Report of the Mohawk Institute to the New England Company, 16 September 1896, Diocese of the Huron Archives, Truth and Reconciliation Files.

performed their drill "with a spirit which is found nowhere outside of the regular army. The marching was not quite up to the mark of former public performances, but at times the most complicated military movements were done with the utmost regularity."[116] During a band concert in Brantford, the Mohawk Institute cadets were presented with a silver tankard for their exemplary drill by the city's mayor. Nationally, the Mohawk Institute Cadets continued to perform admirably. In 1908, the Minister and members of the Militia Department watched a demonstration by the corps, which ended in rave reviews by the observers.[117] In 1912, the corps placed first in the Central Ontario Cadet competition and in 1913, passed their inspection, and their commanding officer, Superintendent Ashton, hoped that they could improve in the rifle range section of the inspection.[118] This improvement may have been tied to the fact that Ashton had installed a rifle range on the Institute's property along the river flats which was rented to the Dufferin Rifles for their rifle practice.[119] Whatever the result of their rifle shooting, the positive accolades of the of the Mohawk Institute Cadet Corps would continue into the 1920s.[120]

Although many have debated if residential schools and the militaristic environment found within them led to the schools acting as a feeder into the Canadian armed forces, it has been noted that the Department of Indian Affairs denied recruiters access to the schools for recruiting purposes.[121] This did not however stop local school administrators from helping with this process. In 1896, it was reported that the six senior cadets from the Mohawk Institute were to join "D" Company of the 38th Dufferin Rifles. As noted above, the Dufferin Rifles would have had uninterrupted access to the Six Nations students at the Institute either through their use of the rifle range on the institute's grounds, or through the commanding

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[116] Graham, 96.

[117] Graham, 105.

[118] Graham, 106 and 107.

[119] Gordon J. Smith to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, 18 November1920, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3224, File 547,596 and Report of the Mohawk Institute, 1 April 1880, Diocese of Huron Archives, Truth and Reconciliation Files.

[120] "Mohawk Cadets Passed Inspection," *The Brantford Expositor*, 2 July 1920, 20.

[121] Department of Indian Affairs to William Hamilton Merritt, 26 May 1898, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2837, File 171,348 and Duncan Campbell Scott to Glen Campbell, 11 February 1916, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6766, File 452-13.

officer of the cadets, E.C. Ashton, who was also the commanding officer of "D" Company of the Dufferin Rifles. The cadets were to drill with the regiment 'in the evenings for about a week' which would "not interfere with their duties in any way but will teach them to associate on equality with white men."[122] Although this was reported as being extra-curricular activity for the cadets at the good will of the regiment, the nominal rolls of the regiment show that, far from this being an extra- curricular, the cadets became paid soldiers within the regiment. This "giving" and enlistment of the senior boys continued into 1898.[123]

6.2 Proposals for a Six Nations Regiment

With these and other unsolicited proposals for Six Nations military service, the Chiefs of the Six Nations were able to stop their people participating in the military if they did not like the proposed terms. In 1885, Captain R.P. Nelles of the Haldimand Rifles wanted to establish two companies of Six Nations men. The Council declined to support the proposal, but assured Nelles that they were "willing to hold themselves in readiness for war in defense of the country when they are requested according to the Treaties with the Redcoats!" and also reminded their Visiting Superintendent, Jasper Gilkison, that he had to consult with the Council before offering their men for military service.[124] During their Council meeting of 7 April 1885, they reiterated their point to Gilkison, with the speaker stating that the Six Nations, "will respond with several hundred warriors whenever the appeal is made to them from the proper source."[125]

6.3 The Royal Six Nations Regiment

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[122] Report of the Mohawk Institute to the New England Company, December 1896, Diocese of Huron Archives, Truth and Reconciliation Files.

[123] Nominal Rolls of the 38th Dufferin Rifles, Brantford Public Library Local Reading Room.

[124] Noon, 60.

[125] Noon, 60.

As enlistment continued to grow in the Haldimand Rifles from the 1870s onward, another proposal for an all Six Nations regiment was made in 1896. Known as the Royal Six Nations Regiment, the regiment was supposed to be a living example of the Six Nations military and alliance relationship with the British Crown. The uniform was a combination of a popular European-style rifle jacket and Six Nations traditional warrior garments including a leather kilt and feathered headdress. Even the colours of the battalion were intended to show the combined British and Six Nations victories at Queenston Heights and Beaver Dams during the War of 1812.[126] The regiment was to be comprised of six companies, one from each respective nation, with the Oneida company being recruited from the Oneida community at Muncey.[127] Although the regiment seemed to have support from some segments of the Six Nations community at Grand River, even receiving a full two page article in Dr. Peter Edmond Jones' *The Indian Magazine*, the idea was ultimately rejected by the Canadian military authorities and the Six Nations Council as they did not want to do away with their ancient way of dealing with issues of war.[128] With this rejection, the main proponent of the regiment, an honourary Six Nations Chief and non-Six Nations man William Hamilton Merritt took the idea of the regiment to Britain and tried to get it established as an Imperial Corps under the jurisdiction of the British War Department. In this way, the regiment would operate similar to that of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, in which it would be recruited in Canada, but under Imperial command. This plan too was rejected, but was not gone forever.[129]

The Six Nations rejection of this proposed regiment also shows how the Six Nations viewed their military participation in the Canadian and British militia system: if the participation was not on their terms or done through their traditional way of asking for their participation, it would be rejected. Author J.B. MacKenzie explained that since the formation of this

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[126] *The Indian Magazine*, January 1896, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2837, File 171,348.

[127] *The Indian Magazine*, January 1896, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2837, File 171,348

[128] The letter from Chief Isaac Hill only offers two vague reasons why the Council rejected the idea for this regiment: The Council did not do what was right and the vote was not unanimous. In LAC, RG10, Vol. 2837, File 171,348.

[129] William Hamilton Merritt to the Department of Indian Affairs, 11 May 1898, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2837, File 171,348.

regiment was pushed on the Six Nations by non-Six Nations men, mainly O.W. Howland, a staunch Imperial Federalist, William Hamilton Merritt, a member of the Canadian Militia and U.E.L. Association, and E.S. Chadwick, an historian working at Six Nations, and not the people of the Six Nations, the Chiefs rejected the proposal.[130] A similar push back on forcing the Canadian military on Six Nations occurred in 1913 when the Six Nations Council refused to give the land at the agricultural fair grounds for a 37th Haldimand Rifles armoury for the four Six Nations companies of the regiment.[131] Although the proposal was brought to the Six Nations Council by their men enlisted in the regiment, the Council, through Chiefs A.G. Smith, usually a supporter of the military as his two sons were in the Haldimand Rifles, and Harry Martin, rejected the proposal claiming Six Nations were allies to the Crown, and therefore, they should have no part in the establishing of an armoury for the Crown's forces within their Territory.[132] These instances show that, when the Council was involved, the strictest lines were drawn in how the Six Nations would interact with the Canadian militia system based on their traditional values, ideas understanding of their alliance with the British Crown.

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[130] J.B. MacKenzie, *The Six-Nations in Canada* (Toronto: Hunter and Rose, 1896), 102 and William Hamilton Merritt to the Department of Indian Affairs, 11 May 1898, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2837, File 171,348.

[131] It was proposed that the 37th Haldimand Rifles would pay for the building of the armories and the Six Nations Council would pay for to furnish of the building.

[132] Gordon J. Smith to the Department of Indian Affairs, 18 March 1913, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2837, File 171,348.

Chapter 7: Displays of Militarism 1814-1914

On the eve of the First World War, British imperialism and empire was found in all aspects of Canadian society, including the education system, print media, theatrical performances, and music.[1] This saturation of Imperial and military ideas will be explored to see what effect it had on military culture of the Six Nations. As argued in by Frederick Loft in Chapter 2, Six Nations people still held traditional military ideas. However, some of people within and the majority of people outside of the Six Nations communities fell prey to the "propaganda" of empire. The repeated barrages of Imperial imagery led many to believe in the superiority of Britain, renegotiating the place of the Six Nations as allies within the empire. Whether these Imperial ideas were fully embedded into the colonial narrative or layered on to the existing traditional military of the Six Nations, they impacted how both the Six Nations and the non-Six Nations community understood Six Nations military participation leading up to the First World War.

7.1 United Empire Loyalists: The Myth and Six Nations People

One of the most powerful myths that shaped how Six Nations and non-Six Nations people understood their place in the fabric of Canada was the myth of the loyalist. As the British removed their military presence in Canada in the 1860s and 1870s, in the hopes Canada would take on a more active role in their own defense, Canadians needed to construct a new mythology, creating both a sense of their own independence, but also leaving space for them within the British Empire. Two of the cornerstones of the loyalist myth was that the United Empire Loyalists fought against and fled from the American rebels during the American Revolution, and again armed themselves for the defense of Canada during the War of 1812. As seen in Chapter 3, this myth of the civilian soldier as the sole defender of Canada was not accurate. Due to their participation in both conflicts, and their migration to their traditional

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[1] John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

territory to what became British North America, the Six Nations were easily grafted onto the myth. Although this myth initially received support from the Six Nations community at Grand River, as it gave them a chance to tell their history to a broader outside audience, they would later deny the narrative in the 1880s, as it silenced the true lived experience of the people of Six Nations in favor of British subjecthood.[2]

Before the loyalist myth took hold in Upper Canada and Canada West, First Nations people, the battlefields of the War of 1812 and later of the Rebellions in 1837-38 were already gaining popularity as tourist attractions. Not only could one see the ravaged landscape, but a tourist could make side trips nearby to see First Nations people either as they lived their traditional lives, or as they tended to their farms and attended church. Tourists could see the battlefields, hear of their savagery, see "authentic" First Nations people, while also observing various "civilization" programs enacted by the British Imperial government.[3] What is unclear is if the tourists understood the role played by or why the Six Nations and other First Nations people participated in both conflicts.

As can be seen in Chapters 2-5, the people of Six Nations preserved their role in the War of 1812 in their oral histories. Their understanding of this conflict can also be found in official sources and displays outside of their communities. After the death of General Isaac Brock, the Chiefs of Six Nations, along with their Huron, Chippewa, and Potawatomi allies, held a condolence ceremony for Brock at their council house at Fort George, which ended with them placing a wampum belt over the general's grave.[4] This respect was again shown to General Brock in 1824 during his second funeral procession to one of the largest tourist attractions of the war, the Brock Monument at Queenston Heights. Six Nations, giving money for the monument's erection, sent a deputation of Chiefs as their representatives in the

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[2] Norman Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists: The Ontario Loyalist Tradition and the Creation of a Usable Past* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 86-88.

[3] Patricia Jesen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 38, 41-42, 49, 50, 69, 70, and 88.

[4] Richard E. Merritt, *On Common Ground: The Ongoing Story of the Commons in Niagara-on-the-Lake* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2012), 60 and 180 and "Six Nations Condolence in Memory of Major General Isaac Brock, 6 November 1812" in *Six Nations Expressions of Condolence for non-Haudenosaunee Leaders 1761-1916*, Compiled by Richard W. Hill Sr., Richard Hill Sr. Files.

funeral procession. Their importance in conflict was visible with the Six Nations delegates appearing behind the British and Canadian military officials leading the procession.[5] The Six Nations and other First Nations groups even donated money for the re-building of the monument after it was blown up by anti-British agitator and follower of William Lyon Mackenzie, Benjamin Lett, in 1841.[6] When the monument was finally rebuilt in 1853, the Six Nations, although fewer in number, were again present as part of the procession to the monument. These latter two processions also marked a transition: First Nations people were no longer presented as allies to the British and Brock himself, but instead were present as curiosities for non-First Nations public, being more part of the tourist tradition of seeing the "savage" Indian in their traditional dress.[7]

7.2 The Loyalist Myth: First Nations Veterans of the War of 1812

The Six Nations community held veterans of the war in high regard. John Brant, as agent for the British Indian Department, recorded in his letter book in 1828 and 1829, special gifts of silver ordainments and other supplies given to the men that were wounded or who distinguished themselves during the war.[8] According to one Six Nations veteran, Seneca Johnson, by 1872, other promises made by the British to the Six Nations for their involvement in the War of 1812 remained unfulfilled.[9] In his conversations with New

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[5] Merritt, 180 and Thomas Chambers, "1812 on the Niagara Frontier" (disc two) *War of 1812 Whirlwind Conference: The Impact of the War on the Six Nations* (Grand River: D.A.M. Studios, 2012).

[6] Niagara Historical Society Papers, 54. Other First Nations also contributed to the rebuilding of Brock's monument including the Chippewa of the St. Clair River, Huron and Wyandat of Amherstburg, Chippewa of the Lower Reserve and Walpole Island, Chippewa on the Thames River, Moravians on the Thames River, Muncey of the Thames River, Oneida settlement on the Thames River, Mississauga of the Credit River, Chippewa of Saugeen, Chippewa of Rama, Chippewa of Snake Island, Mississauga of Rice Lake, Mississauga, of Mud and Balsam Lakes, and Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte.

[7] Chambers.

[8] John Brant Letter-book 1828-1832, The University of Western Ontario Archives and Research Collection Centre.

[9] It is unclear what these benefits would have been, as different agents of the British Indian Department and even Brock himself would negotiate with different First Nations communities for their service in the war. According to Stuart A. Rammage, *The Militia Stood Alone: Malcolm's Mills 6 November 1814* (Penticton, British Columbia: Bi-Centennial Preview, 2000), 146, 148, and 156, during his meeting with the Six Nations

England Company missionary Rev. Roberts, Johnson, who had been in "thirteen fights" on behalf of the British Crown, claimed "that at the time the war commenced in the year 1812, he and other Indians were told that they should receive 200 acres [of land] each, as a special reward for their services; but the old man said, 'that promise was never fulfilled towards me.'"[10] Whether the extra presents issued by John Brant in 1828 were part of the British pre-war promises to the people of Six Nations or if they were extra presents set aside by Brant or the Six Nations community to honour their veterans cannot be found in archival records.

According to historian Norman Knowles, the loyalist myth associated with the War of 1812 did not begin until 1850 due to many veterans passing away.[11] However, this is not entirely accurate. Popular writings about the war were beginning to appear in the 1820s and 1840s, with few accounts being written immediately after the war.[12] The increase of loyalist literature would grow further after the 1840s, with grants being issued by the Canadian legislature for the writing of Canadian history. These grants would continue in the 1860 and through the 1880s, with many local historical societies producing histories.[13] These publications were usually memoirs that focused on the local war effort and some, like Tiger Dunlop's *Recollections of the American War 1812-1814*, the memoir of Lt. John Le Conteur, or the letters of Sergeant James Commins of the British 8th Regiment of Foot, painting a negative picture of their First Nations allies and their overly "savage" wartime practices.[14] These plots continued in popular and political histories of the war.

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before the outbreak of war, Brock promised he would resolve all land disputes if they joined the British side. In July 1813, Gen. Vincent offered First Nations troops $5.00 per enemy captured and returned to the British, compensation for wounds or loss of limbs, and money or presents to widows and or families of those killed and wounded. He would further promise prize money to be divided up amongst those who participated in the capture of Detroit. In truth, those who were wounded but not physically impaired received no compensation. Those losing a limb received an annual gratuity of $70.00. Others, like David Davids, died waiting for their pension. His widow received a "present" of $140 in 1817. If she or her children wanted or needed more, the case would have to be forward to the British government and reviewed on a case by case bias.

[10] *Report of the New England Company, 1871-1872*, 286.

[11] Knowles, 20.

[12] Frank H. Severance, "Notes on the Literature of the War of 1812," in *Buffalo Historical Society Publications* vol. 18 (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1914), 202-203.

[13] Knowles, 28 and 34.

[14] William Dunlop, *Tiger Dunlop's Upper Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), 48; John Le Conteur, *Merry Hearts Make Light Days* 3rd ed. (Ottawa: Carlton University Press, 1994), 129 and 146; and

While officers and ex-servicemen wrote their memoirs, political histories of the war were also being published. As noted by historians Allan Taylor and Dan Glenny, the image of First Nations people as untrustworthy savages in warfare was liberally found in American popular culture before the beginning of the War of 1812 and continued into the 1900s with the Buffalo Historical Society publishing various memoirs from the burning of Black Rock, New York, by Grand River Six Nations troops.[15] These sentiments found their way into post-war depictions, with both the British and Americans debating whether First Nations people, due to their savageness, should have been used in the war. In his 1855 study, Gilbert Auchinleck addresses this issue. Noting that texts about the war in the United States decried the use of First Nations peoples against their troops, Auchinleck, quoting the words of Major John Richardson, a British/Canadian veteran of the war, defended Britain's use of their First Nations allies. According to Richardson, "had we not employed them the Americans would."[16] To support this point, Auchinleck noted that, by war's end, the Americans began using First Nations troops in the invasion of Canada. Richardson also highlighted that First Nations participation in the war was based on their allied relationship with the British. This alliance was based on the "trust and confidence" First Nations people felt "from a Government which had heaped bounties on them with no spring of hand."[17] While defending the use of First Nations troops, Richardson also distanced the British and Canadians from any "savage" acts committed by their First Nations allies: "while we admit that our allies were in some instances guilty of excesses particular to every savage nation, it cannot be supposed that these acts were sanctioned by the Government, or that, so far as it was possible,

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James Commins as quoted in Robert S. Allen, *His Majesty's Indian Allies: British Indian Policy in the Defence of Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992), 148. Although Dunlop's account of the war was published in 1847, and Le Conteur's and Commins accounts were not published until 1994 and 1939 respectively, the similar themes of the lack of First Nations usefulness and their savagery in warfare cannot be denied.

[15] Allan Taylor, *Civil War 1812: American Citizens, British Subjects, Irish Rebels, and Indian Allies* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2010), 203; Dan Glenny, Warrior's Symposium, held at the Woodland Cultural Centre, 14 November 1986, tape three; and *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society* vol. 9, edited by Frank H. Severance (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1906), 311-382.

[16] Richardson as quoted by Gilbert Auchinleck, *A History of the War Between Great Britain and the United States of America During the Years 1812, 1813, and 1814* (Toronto: Pendragon House, 1973 [1855]), 55.

[17] Richardson as quoted in Auchinleck, 55.

principles of toleration and mercy were not inculcated by us amongst our red allies."[18] Other post-war British accounts furthered this point, stating in many cases, the British held back their allies from committing the worst of wartime atrocities. Richardson concluded his remarks by also pointing out that the excessive cruelties of war were not limited to First Nations people, but were also perpetrated by the Americans. Agreeing with wartime opinions of Commins and other British officers about the Kentucky troops employed by the American forces, Richardson stated that "in justice, too, to the Indians, we must remark, that acts of barbarous cruelty were not confined to them. The American backwoodsmen were in the habit of scalping also."[19]

Other loyalist accounts of the war used it as an event that unified the people of Canada. In these accounts, like William Coffin's 1864 book, *1812: The War and its Moral: A Canadian Chronicle*, the war unified the British United Empire Loyalists with French Canadians and other British settlers from the Maritimes against a common American enemy.[20] In these accounts, First Nations people were either part of this unification, as they too fought for the British, or they were kept out of the loyalist/Canadian narrative due to their diminished status within the surrounding Euro-Canadian culture. By 1870, First Nations participation in the war would not only become part of the loyalist narrative, but it would be celebrated. Creating the myth that Canadians defended Canada without the British, as they had done in 1812, the Canadian government issued pensions of $20 to 1812 veterans. This marked the first time First Nations people were eligible for a Canadian pension based on their military participation.[21] After the war, First Nations people could not claim a British militia pension since they joined the war not as British subjects, but as allies. Any compensation they received for their military service was negotiated with the British Crown either through

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[18] Richardson as quoted in Auchinleck, 55.

[19] Commins as quoted in Allan Taylor, 208 and Richardson as quoted in Auchinleck, 55.

[20] K.A. MacKirdy, J.S. Moir, and Y.F. Zoltvany eds., *Changing Perspectives in Canadian History: Selected Problems* (Don Mills, ON: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1971), 121 and 122.

[21] The creation of this myth only three years after confederation was needed to prove that Canadians could defend themselves, especially with British pulling all of their forces from Canada in 1871. By issuing pensions to First Nations veterans, not only was it adding First Nations people into the national narrative, but also included them in the post-confederation defense of Canada.

agents of the British Indian Department or military authorities.[22] Being outside of the militia system posed another problem for First Nations veterans: they had to conclusively prove their military service. Since they were not on any militia rolls, and since most First Nations forces did not keep troop lists, this was hard to confirm. To receive a pension, veterans either applied to the Militia Department directly or they attended large town hall meetings and provided whatever proof they had of their service.

7.3 The War of 1812: Six Nations Veterans

Although many of the Six Nations veterans of 1812 had passed away by 1875, ten pensions were initially issued to Six Nations veterans from Grand River.[23] Upon receiving his pensions on 2 October 1875, John Smoke Johnson stated,

> On behalf of the warriors here today whose silvery locks and tottering steps indicates that our days are soon to be numbered I am happy to meet you here today on this occasion. We never expected to live long enough to see any acknowledgment of this kind from our country as a mark of our services, at a time of great danger when we were summoned by General Brock we gladly and promptly obeyed the call, and regret that the noble warrior should have fallen in battle and now only the magnificent monument at Queenston Heights remains to commemorate his historic deeds. We thank you for the favor granted to us at this time.[24]

In reply, the issuing officer, Col. McPherson stated,

> It is a pleasure and an honor to meet the "braves" who with their tribes had ever proven themselves ready and efficient in defence of their sovereign and country. I only regret the moiety had not greater. I hope you will appreciate the act of the Government of the day in acknowledging your service, and know your record was good in the past and have no doubt but that your nation will sustain, in case of need, the reputation gained, and will be transmitted to your successors.[25]

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[22] According Rammage, 13, 144, and 145, non-First Nations militia compensation for service in the war was outlined in the *Militia Act* of 6 March 1812. These were added onto in 1815 with a gratuity of six month's pay and land grants being offered for militia service.

[23] Eric Jonasson, *Canadian Veterans of the War of 1812* (Winnipeg: Wheatfield Press, 1981), 15-16.

[24] Rammage, 158.

[25] Rammage, 158.

After the pensions were issued, these veterans achieved celebrity status. During their visit to the Grand River Territory in 1874, the Governor General and his wife, the Earl and Countess of Dufferin, were greeted by "many chiefs and warriors," nine of whom were singled out to be veterans of the War of 1812.[26] These veterans were also co-opted into the outside community's history of the War of 1812. In their publications about the County of Brant and the Six Nations, both the Warner, Beers, and Company and E.M. Chadwick included mini-biographies of some of the Six Nations men, highlighting those who fought in various conflicts in support of the British Crown including the War of 1812.[27] The Department of Indian Affairs was also complicit in trying to create celebrities of Six Nations 1812 veterans. Throughout 1875-1878, the department sent circulars to Six Nations communities requesting that agents and superintendents put together lists of surviving veterans from the war.[28] From this solicitation onward, other Six Nations veterans and their dependents continued to write the department requesting pensions; some finding success, some finding partial success, and other being rejected outright.[29]

Other lengths were taken to ensure that the names of Six Nations 1812 veterans were enshrined in the collective memories across the region. In 1882, a studio in Brantford captured an image of the three remaining Six Nations veterans, Young Warner, John Tutela,

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[26] J.T. Gilkison, Na*rrative Visit of the Governor-General and the Countess of Dufferin to the Six Nations Indians August 25, 1874* 2nd ed. (No Publisher, 1875), 14. The nine veterans included John Smoke Johnson, James Givens, Joseph Fraser, Old Silver-Smith, Jacob Winnie, George Monture, John Tutle, Joseph Snow, and William Johnson.

[27] *History of the County of Brant* (Toronto: Warner, Beers, and Company, 1883), 132, 134, and 668 and E.M. Chadwick, *People of the Longhouse* (Toronto: Church of England, 1897), 42-46. Both the Warner, Beers, and Company and Chadwick's selection of veterans were based not only on their veterans' status, but also their political importance or success as a farmer.

[28] Samson Green to the Minister of the Interior, 23 March 1875, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1950, File 4384 and Jasper Gilkison to the Department of Indian Affairs, 6 July 1878 and RG10, Vol 1956, File 4610.

[29] Col. Powell to David Thompson 4 July 1882, Ruthven National Historic Site, Cayuga, Ontario. In the case of Jacob Moses, found in LAC, RG10, Vol. 2004, File 7692 the department granted him a full pension in 1877. In 1890, 78-year-old Wa-te-ka-wen-nen-te wrote Sir Fredrick Stanley, the Governor General of Canada, requesting the rights to her husband's, Raser Ka-ne-ha-ni-io's pension. As found in LAC, RG10, Vol. 2544, File 111,735, her case was rejected by the Canadian government. Meanwhile in November 1901-January 1902, the dependents of Alex Buckshot and Joseph Lafance also wrote the Department of Indian Affairs. Although Buckshot had three children and Lafance had two, only three of the children would receive his pension as two daughters had married Six Nations men from the American side of the Akwesasne (St. Regis) community and were therefore ineligible.

and John Smoke Johnson.[30] This staged photograph became one of the most iconic images of the war in addition to being recognized as a historic treasure by the Six Nations community. Presumably demonstrating to the public that these once fierce warriors had been tamed by the progress of the British Empire, the three veterans are seated between a faded secretary desk with bookcase and a draped Union Jack, showing that not only are these old figures part of a distant past and history books, they are also proudly part of the British Empire.[31]

Figure 4: Six Nations Veterans of the War of 1812, Copyright of the Woodland Cultural Centre[32]

For other photographs donated to archives and other repositories, their original intent has been obscured, positioning Six Nations veterans over others pictured. In 1921, Augusta Gilkison, the daughter of long retired Visiting Superintendent to the Six Nations, Jasper Gilkison, donated the photograph *Two warriors of 1812-13. Under Capt. John Brant,*

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[30] Six Nations Public Library, "Last Surviving Six Nations Veterans of the War of 1812," Taken 1 July 1882, (Also available at http://vitacollections.ca/sixnationsarchive/2686510/data) The ages of these men at wartime ranged from age 10-18.

[31] Although no accounts of what the three veterans thought of this photograph, they would have had their own ideas about the photograph, its staging, and what it meant to them and their community.

[32] As cited in Richard W. Hill Sr., *War Clubs and Wampum Belts: The Hodinohso:ni Experiences of the War of 1812* (Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 2012), 11.

youngest son of Chief Joseph Brant to the Brant Museum and Archives. The photograph, taken in 1870 at the request of the Chiefs of the Six Nations Council, has the names of all twelve people pictured in it inscribed on the back of the image; they include various prominent non-First Nations persons like New England Company missionaries and Gilkison's own father, alongside seven chiefs of the Six Nations. The title ascribed to this photo by Gilkison, however, obscures the true meaning of why the Chiefs of the Six Nations wanted this photograph to be taken, giving the two veterans of the war, Chiefs Joseph Snow and John Smoke Johnson prominence. Gilkison's motivations for doing this remains unclear,[33] but it does show that the Six Nations veterans of the War of 1812 remained important to collective memories of the people of Brantford, Brant County, and Six Nations from the 1870s through to the First World War.[34]

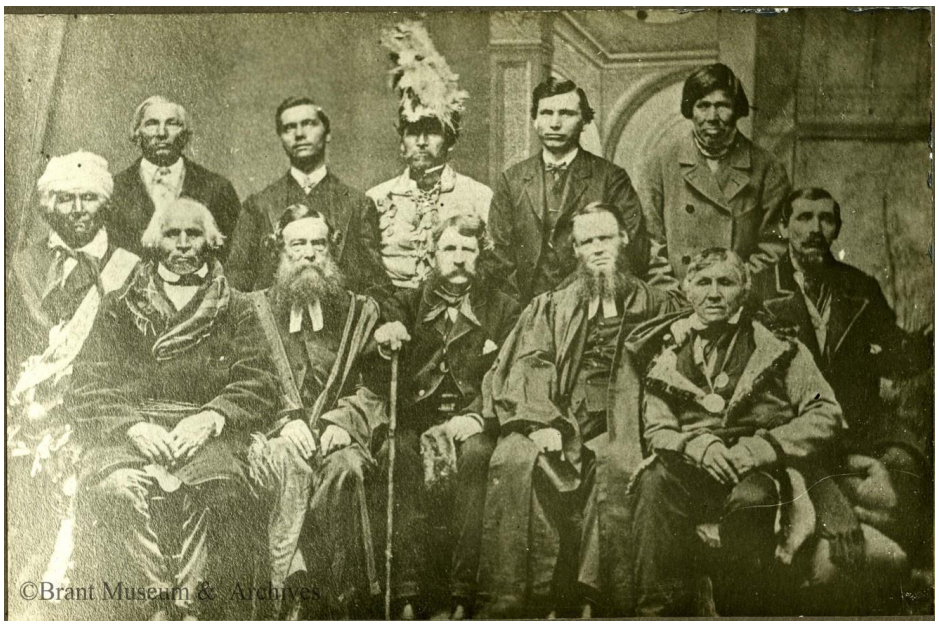

Figure 5: Two Warriors of 1812-13, Copyright of the of the Brant Historical Society

[33] Gilkison was driving force behind the preservation of local history through her work with the Brant Historical Society. According to Minute extract of the of the Six Nations Council 5 and 8 August 1913, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3174, File 431,501, she was rewarded by the Six Nations for her work by being adopted into the Bear clan of the Cayuga with the name Gai-whi-sas (researcher) in 1913.

[34] Brant Museum and Archives, "Two warriors of 1812-13. Under Capt. John Brant, youngest son of Chief Joseph Brant." Pictured in the photograph are, standing [left to right], Chiefs Jacob Williams, John Anderson, George H.M. Johnson, Rev. Isaac Barefoot, and Chief Isaac Hill. Seated [left to right] Chiefs Seneca Johnson, Joseph Snow, Rev. Adam Elliot, Col. Jasper Gilkison, Rev. Abraham Nelles, and Chiefs John Smoke Johnson and Henry Clench.

7.4 Veterans' Status and Political Influence: Tour of the Prince of Wales 1860

Organizers of public ceremonies and commemorations used Six Nations 1812 veterans to highlight their participation in the war and the loyalist myth. In 1860, as a way of promoting Imperial unity, the Prince of Wales toured across Canada. Alongside the non-First Nations population of Canada, First Nations people actively participated in this tour due to their treaty relationship with the British Crown. Although there to meet with their treaty partner, local organizers used First Nations participants as either part of a show or as a foil to the progress of Victorian Canada. Beginning in Kahnawake (Caughnawaga), Six Nations people paraded, dressed in traditional clothes and painted faces, and were used for the entertainment of the Prince in a Six Nations versus Algonquin lacrosse game and various "war dances."[35] This "entertainment" was again followed by the Six Nations community at Grand River. After the Prince's train's arrival was announced in Brantford by the firing of canons, led by George Henry Martin Johnson, the Six Nations, like their Kahnawake counterparts, dressed and paraded for the occasion. Within the procession were the warriors, Chiefs, and representatives of all Six Nations in full traditional dress, alongside veterans of the War of 1812.[36] The Grand River Six Nations also participated in a reception within their Territory and in the ceremonies in Hamilton, Ontario. In Hamilton, in customary fashion, the Six Nations presented the Prince tomahawks, bows and arrows, pipes, war clubs, and wampum.[37] According to historian Ian Radford, the reception First Nations people gave the Prince was either one that illustrated the progress they had made away from primitivism, or else they engaged in "out-Nativing" each other whereby each community tried to appear either more advanced or more traditional than the others.[38] While Six Nations and other First Nations communities used these and similar symbols and tropes in their displays welcoming the

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[35] Ian Radford, *Royal Spectacle: The 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 6, 219, and 220.

[36] *History of the County of Brant*, 340 and F. Douglas Reville, *History of the County Brant* vol. 1 (Brantford: Hurley Printing Company, 1920), 194.

[37] Radford, 112, 132, and 308.

[38] Radford, 224 and 227.

Prince, what differentiated their meetings from non-First Nations communities was their political actions. While touring, the Prince received many petitions and addresses from First Nations people.[39] The fact that First Nations people used this tour to advocate for their own interests with their treaty partner shows that they were not content to be a part of a Canadian message of Imperial unity and subjecthood. Protests of the Grand River Six Nations community were again echoed by Six Nations man, Oronhyatekha through a private message to the Prince.[40] Even if his tour did not provide a chance for the open airing of their grievances against the Department of Indian Affairs, it did provide First Nations and non-First Nations people alike the image of a personable, kind, and gentle Prince, and therefore a friendly face for their treaty partner, the British Crown. This new appreciation of the Prince would later lead both the people of Brantford and Grand River to hold a celebration for the marriage of the Prince of Wales to Princess Alexandra in 1863, declaring it a general holiday, and featuring the music of the Six Nations Brass Band.[41]

7.5 Veterans' Status and Political Influence: Loyalist Celebrations

In 1884, celebrations marking the centennial of the arrival of the loyalists were held in Ontario, adding further support to the loyalist myth. Many of these celebrations included First Nations participation. Like the Prince of Wales visit in 1860, however, this participation of First Nations people was supposed to be for the entertainment of the non-First Nations public.[42] This can definitely be seen in the loyalist celebrations at Niagara-on-the-Lake. After their invitation to attend, the Grand River Six Nations sent a delegation of forty-eight chiefs, two of whom were in their 90s and had fought in the War of 1812. After a speech by Chief A.G. Smith and other festivities, five of the chiefs performed a traditional "war" dance and

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[39] Radford, 70, 209, and 230.

[40] Radford, 214.

[41] *History of the County of Brant*, 341.

[42] Knowles, 86.

gave three cheers to the Queen.[43] Although event organizers added First Nations participation for their entertainment and the spreading of British Canadian patriotism to the viewing audience,[44] the First Nations people present at these events used them to highlight their history and how they viewed their relationship with the British and Canadian state. Chief A.G. Smith's speech at the Niagara-on-the-Lake celebration, while supporting loyalist ideas, told the crowd, "I firmly believe that the day is not far distant when the Indians will be able to take their stand among the whites on equal footing."[45] Smith would even go so far as to advocate for First Nations representation in Canadian parliament, therefore giving a voice to First Nations issues within the Canadian government.[46] Showing further agency, and protesting the way they and other Six Nations groups had been portrayed during the loyalist celebrations in Niagara-on-the-Lake, Toronto, and Aldophustown, outside of the Six Nations community at the Bay of Quinte, the Six Nations communities held their own "loyalist" commemoration at the Mohawk community at Tyendinaga. Although there were some non-Six Nations people at this event again spreading their message of British Canadian patriotism,[47] others, like Tyendinaga Chief Samson Green, demonstrated his dissatisfaction with the message of the non-First Nations commemorations, stating that the Six Nations had sacrificed their "wealth, happiness, and enjoyment" to remain loyal to the covenant and treaty relationship they had established with the British. He continued that although the Six Nations had fulfilled their side of their agreement with the British, their rights were not supported or respected by the Canadian government.[48] Loyalist sentiment was a double-edged sword for First Nations people. Although they were able share their history and treaties with the non-First Nations community, their requests for help fell on deaf ears.

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[43] Merritt, 181.

[44] *Obsequies of Red Jacket at Buffalo October 9th, 1884* (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1885), 93-97.

[45] Knowles, 86-87 and Merritt, 181.

[46] Knowles, 87.

[47] *Obsequies of Red Jacket*, 89-91.

[48] Knowles, 88.

7.6 The Cult of Joseph Brant

Alongside the physical and print celebrations of the British Crown, there was also an increase in built heritage celebrating the loyalist community's connection with the British Crown. One of the first loyalist celebrations to come to the Grand River Territory was reinternment of Joseph Brant's bones from his old home in Wellington Square in Burlington to the Mohawk Chapel. On 27 November 1850, Brant's bones arrived in Brantford and were interned in a tomb created by monies raised by public subscription alongside his son, John Brant.[49] Local folklore affirms that his remains were relayed from Burlington to Brantford by teams of Six Nations men, although local historian Douglas Reville states that there is no evidence this actually happened.[50] Local recounting of this event calls into question whether or not Six Nations people had any part in these ceremonies. As noted by the book, *History of the County of Brant*, "in the year 1850, a few interested friends of the Indians, together with the leading spirits of those of the Six Nations, who were residents upon the soil, united their efforts, and with one ceremony reinterred the dust of both chieftains in one common vault."[51] This account is further challenged by Douglas F. Reville in the 1920s. According to Reville, the impetus and ceremony surrounding the internment of Brant's bones was mainly completed by leading members of the non-Six Nations community. Reville only tells his reader that "many Indians and whites were present" but only mentions two First Nations people by name, being G.H.M. Johnson and Rev. Peter Jones of the neighbouring Mississauga nation.[52]

In her 1886 telling of the ceremony, Eliza Field, wife of Rev. Peter Jones, wrote that the majority of the reinternment involved the non-First Nations community in Brantford and Hamilton. Beginning at 9:00am, a procession made their way to the Mohawk Chapel headed by the Brantford Band and followed by Parade Marshall George Babcock, students and

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[49] Michelle A. Hamilton, *Collections and Objections: Aboriginal Material Culture in Southern Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2010), 95.

[50] Reville, 65.

[51] *The History of the County of Brant*, 141.

[52] Reville, 65.

teachers from local schools with banners, Brant and Gore Masonic, Odd Fellows, and Orange Order Lodges, the Mayor of Brantford and other citizens.[53] It was not until the procession made its way to the Mohawk Chapel was it joined by Six Nations and other First Nations people. Once passing under the banner that read "God Save the Queen," the non-First Nations procession was met by the Tuscarora Indian Lodge of the Sons of Temperance and the Tuscarora Band, the students of the Mohawk Institute, some Chiefs, and a company of Six Nations men with muskets.[54] What is interesting about Field's account is, aside from Peter Jones, no First Nations people spoke at the reinternment. Speeches were only made by various non-First Nations dignitaries.[55] There seems to be little mention of whether or not the Six Nations themselves wanted Brant's bones or tomb erected in their Territory. Were the Six Nations at the reinternment for the entertainment of the non-First Nations crowd in attendance? Were they hoping for a chance to tell the non-First Nations audience about their complicated history with Joseph Brant?[56] Even the coffin containing the remains of Brant was lowered into the tomb by six non-First Nations master masons.[57] The only time the Six Nations seemed to actively support the erection of the tomb was in 1879 when the Six Nations Council installed a six-foot fence around the tomb to safeguard it from vandalism.[58]

After the internment, Brant himself received an almost cult like following. Local historical societies begin collecting artifacts, histories, and curios relating to First Nations history.[59]

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[53] Ke-che-ah-gah-me-qua, *The Life of Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea): An Account of his Re-internment at Mohawk, 1850 and of the Corner Stone Ceremony in the Erection of the Brant Monument, 1886* (Brantford: B.H. Bothwell, 1886), 30.

[54] Ke-che-ah-gah-me-qua, 31.

[55] Reville, 65 and 66, Ke-che-ah-gah-me-qua, 30-31, and Hamilton, *Collections and Objections*, 95.

[56] For more on this history, see Tom Hill, "Brant: A Six Nations Perspective," in *Portraits of Thayendanegea, Joseph Brant* (Burlington, ON: Burlington Cultural Centre, 1993), 33-36 and Susan Marie Hill, "The Clay We Are Made Of: An Examination of the Haudenosaunee Land Tenure on the Grand River Territory" (Ph.D. diss., Trent University, 2006), 270-281.

[57] Ke-che-ah-gah-me-qua, 35.

[58] Hamilton, *Collections and Objections*, 95.

[59] Hamilton, *Collections and Objections*, 18, 37, and 56, J.E. Wodell, "At-ti-wan-dar-o-ni-a" and "Indian Relics and Remains," in *Pen and Pencil Sketches of Wentworth Landmarks*, edited by Mrs. Dick-Lauder, Mrs. Carr, R.K. Kernigghan, J.E. Wodell, J.W. Stead, and J. McMonies (Hamilton: The Spectator Printing Company, 1897), 81-90. Frank Wood, "Indian Relics and Implements found in and around the City of Hamilton," Oscar Main, "Indian Ossuary near Sheffield," and J.H Land, "Notes on the Indian Burial Mound, *Papers and Records*

Even *The Brantford Expositor* reported on the many instances when local peoples dug up First Nations skulls.[60] These stories became more sensationalized when local people could connect the skulls to Joseph Brant. In its 31 May 1924 edition, *The Brantford Expositor* ran the headline "On Brant's Farm," retelling how the Lambshead family accidently dug up a skull of a First Nations person on what used to be the farm given to Joseph Brant by the British government.[61] Even the descendants of Brant were held in high regard by those outside of the Grand River community. In his journals from 1871, New England Company missionary Rev. Roberts took note that he "drove Mrs. Smith, grand-daughter of Thanyendenagea (The celebrated Capt. Joseph Brant), to New Credit Settlement."[62] Producing a biography of Joseph and John Brant, Mrs. John Rose Holden, most likely though the genealogy provided by Field's book and local genealogies, also tracked down the living decedents of Brant through the Kerr family.[63] In her concluding remarks, Holden explained to the Wentworth Historical Society why local historical societies must continue to collect their histories. She stated, "think not that County Historical Societies are of fleeting value. Patriotism is one of the most powerful instincts of the human race. To keep alive an intelligent love of our country we must secure and hand down intact to our children's children the historic deeds of their ancestors."[64] In this vein, Holden lumped together the historic deeds of Brant, his family, and local historic societies as preservers of British patriotism, which the society's members must keep alive.

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of the Wentworth Historical Society 6 (1915): 5-16, 49, and 50, and Brant Historical Society, *Some Papers Read during the Year 1908-1911 at Meetings of the Brant Historical Society* (Brantford: Brant Historical Society, n.d.).

[60] "Found a Skull," *The Brantford Expositor*, 13 April 1918, 6; "Skeleton of Indian Found," *The Brantford Expositor*, 3 February 1921, 1; and "Second Indian Skeleton Found," *The Brantford Expositor*, 5 February 1921, 1.

[61] "On Brant's Farm," *The Brantford Expositor*, 31 May 1924, 6.

[62] *Report of the New England Company 1871-1872*, 266.

[63] Mrs. John Rose Holden, "The Brant Family," *Journal and Transactions of the Wentworth Historical Society* 4 (1905): 82 and Ke-che-ah-gah-me-qua, 24.

[64] Holden, 92.

Although most historians are familiar with the William Stone's 1838 two volume history of the *Life of Joseph Brant – Thayendanegea*,[65] few people know about the two later biographies of Brant produced in Brantford. The first, by William E. Palmer, was written in 1872 while Eliza Field's biography was produced for the unveiling of the Brant Memorial in 1886. Although separated by fourteen years, the themes about Brant, his life, and his service to his community, are the same. Both Palmer and Field highlight Brant's character. Distancing him from "the savage" both Palmer and Field note that Brant was a "warrior" but also show the many instances when Brant showed civilities in combat, with saving non-First Nations lives or labeling his conduct in battle as brave, cautious, wise, honourable, and full of integrity and valor.[66] Palmer and Field also highlight Brant's loyalty to the British, how this loyalty was continued through his son, John Brant, and how this loyalty has served the Six Nations well into the present day.[67] Lastly, both Fields and Palmer focus on Brant's legacy found in the civilizing of Six Nations through his work with the Church of England, his focus on British style education, and the establishing of the Mohawk Institute.[68] Interestingly, these sentiments are echoed in the non-First Nations speeches about Brant during his re-interment and would again be echoed during the celebrations surrounding the laying of the cornerstone and the unveiling of the Brant Memorial in 1877 and 1886.[69] These messages about Brant written in biographies and presented at other celebrations may have been lost on the Six Nations community. As noted by Tom Hill, former museum curator of the Woodland Cultural Centre on the Grand River Territory, the majority of what is known about Brant within the Six Nations community is based on oral and not written records. He continues to say that what has been written about Brant in English is for a popular reading

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[65] William Stone, *Life of Joseph Brant – Thayendanegea* (New York: Alexander V. Blake, 1838).

[66] William E. Palmer, *Memoir of the Distinguished Mohawk Indian Chief, Sachem, and Warrior Capt. Joseph Brant Compiled from the most reliable and Authentic Records Including a brief History of the Principle Events of his Life, with an Appendix and Portrait* (Brantford: C.E. Stewart and Company, 1872), 13, 26, 30, and 35 and Ke-che-ah-gah-me-qua, 6 and 20.

[67] Palmer, 19, 35-36, and 71 and Ke-che-ah-gah-me-qua, 7, 10, and 18.

[68] Palmer, 59, 60-62, 72. and 75 and Ke-che-ah-gah-me-qua, 17 and 18.

[69] Ke-che-ah-gah-me-qua, 31, 32, 34, 39 and 40.

audience and historically, not accessible to those who could not read English.[70] Like the position of the Six Nations during the loyalist commemorations, Hill notes that depending on the prevalent political winds, Six Nations was willing to accept Brant, although his reputation within the community has been mired in controversy.[71]

The construction of the Brant Memorial in Victoria Park marked the height of Brant mania in Brantford and Brant County. Unveiled in 1886, the idea for the monument began in 1874. Allen Cleghorn, a local politician and one of the men responsible for the reinternment of remains of Brant at the Mohawk Chapel, proposed the memorial to the Chiefs of Six Nations. Although the Mohawk Chiefs supported the erection of a monument to Brant, other Confederacy Chiefs only showed partial support. The Confederacy Council, however, corresponded with the Duke of Connaught, asking him if he wanted to become the patron of the monument.[72] In 1877, the Six Nations offered $5000 to help build the monument. Momentum for the monument dwindled, but was revived in 1883 with the granting of money by the federal, provincial, Brant County, City of Brantford, and the Mississauga of the New Credit governments.[73]

The City of Brantford held two ceremonies for the monument. The first was on 11 August 1886 with the laying of the monument's corner stone. This celebration was attended by at least 2000 people and included a parade from the Indian Office in downtown Brantford to Victoria Park. This procession was led by Chief Levi Jonathan, followed by the warriors and Council of Six Nations, and finally by the Brant Memorial Association.[74] Once at the park, Chief Josiah Hill acted as the chair for the celebration while Chiefs Moses Hill and Moses Martin placed sealed jars in the cornerstone, which contained mementos deemed important

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[70] Tom Hill, 33.

[71] Tom Hill, 33 and 36.

[72] Knowles, 119; Jean Waldie, *Brant County: The Story of its People* vol. 1 (Paris, ON: J.R. Hastings Printing and Lithographing, 1984), 39; and *The History of the County of Brant*, 141.

[73] Doug O'Neil, "Brant Monument Artistic Triumph for Sculptor," *The Brantford Expositor*, 13 October 1984, 25.

[74] Waldie, 39.

from both the Six Nations and non-Six Nations communities.[75] Chief Henry Clench laid the cornerstone and Chief John Smoke Johnson was there to tell stories of Joseph Brant and war stories from the War of 1812.[76] While the cornerstone was being laid, sculptor Percy Wood was living amongst the Six Nations trying to capture "the character of the Indian as he was before civilization exercised its effect upon him."[77] In the end, Wood chose Chiefs Johnson, Lewis, Hill, Given, Vanevery, and Newhouse to sculpt for the monument.[78]

13 October 1886 marked the final unveiling of the memorial. Invited to Brantford for the occasion were Blackfoot, Blood, and Peigan Chiefs from the North-West who had remained loyal to the British during the North-West Resistance, including Crowfoot, Red Crow, One Spot, North-Axe and Three Bulls. The Chiefs were given a tour of Canada to show what their continued loyalty to Canadian government could do for them. The Six Nations were displayed for these North-West chiefs as a model community that others were to emulate. Not only was their loyalty to the British Crown highlighted, but so was Brant's leadership, loyalty to the British, and loyalty to his people's civilization into the Euro-Canadian fold.[79] With 20,000 people in attendance, the North-West and Six Nations Chiefs lead the procession with the Six Nations Brass Band and Lt. Governor Robinson, various city and county delegates, and members of the Burford militia and 38th Dufferin Rifles in tow.[80]

Once at the platform, a traditional condolence was performed. Chief John Buck made a speech that was interpreted by Chief A.G. Smith stating "this monument will be a still further

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[75] Reville, 56 and Waldie 39-40.

[76] Waldie, 39 and "A Long Lasting Monument," *The Brantford Expositor*, n.d., Brantford Public Library Local Reading Room.

[77] Reville, 55.

[78] George Beaver, 154.

[79] Knowles 122-123 and Hugh A. Dempsey, *Red Crow: Warrior Chief* (Saskatoon: Fifth House Ltd, 1995). This tour was a success in this regard because of the Six Nations. According to Dempsey,198-202, the tour of the Mohawk Institute and the Grand River Territory convinced the North-West Chiefs of the benefits of siding with the Canadian government. Chief Red Crow would go back to his community preaching that a European style education was the answer to all problems and Chief North Axe went so far as to send his son to the Mohawk Institute for his education.

[80] Knowles, 116; Hugh A. Dempsey, 196; and Reville, 57.

incentive to the Six Nations to be forever loyal to the British Crown."[81] This sentiment was echoed by members of the non-Six Nations community, who also took the opportunity to highlight Joseph Brant's commitment to civilize and Christianize the people of Six Nations.[82] Continuing the bi-cultural entertainments, the festivities after the memorial were continued at nearby Agriculture Park where a lacrosse game was played between two Six Nations teams and a "war dance" was performed in full war paint.[83] The evening's festivities at Kerby and Stratford Opera houses included speeches and an entire theatrical program provided by the Six Nations.[84]

Although depicted by the non-First Nations audience as a time of coming together of the Six Nations and non-Six Nations communities, current scholarship about the monument points to a more complicated event.[85] The monument itself is situated at the centre of a landscaped Union Jack walkway. The bronze for the castings of the monument was donated by the British government from old or captured cannons from the Battle of Waterloo and Crimea.[86]

Again, appeasing the non-Six Nations understanding of Brant and lack of understanding about how the traditional government of the Six Nations functions, Brant physically towers above six figures representing the Six Nations, leaving the impression that Brant ruled over the traditional Six Nations Confederacy Chiefs. In this vein, in a Confederacy whose chiefs are appointed and can be dismissed by clan mothers, there is only one female depicted on the memorial, limiting their importance.[87] Further propagating the idea that Six Nations fit firmly into the British Empire, the non-Six Nations organizers composed the Brant Memorial Hymn, which was sung at the unveiling. As noted by historian Peter Farrugia, "[i]ts first

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[81] Doug O'Neil, "Brant Monument Artistic Triumph for Sculptor." *The Brantford Expositor*, 13 October 1984, 25.

[82] Knowles, 116.

[83] Reville, 60.

[84] Hugh A. Dempsey, 197-198 and Reville, 60.

[85] Catherine Higginson, "Shelly Niro, Haudenosaunee Nationalism, and the Continued Contestation of the Brant Monument," *Culture, Memory and Social Identity* 80 (2003): 159 and Peter Farrugia, "Convenient Truths: History, Memory, and Identity in Brantford, Ontario," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 46, 2 (2012): 134.

[86] Higginson, 146.

[87] Higginson, 166.

verse exhorted the people of Brantford to 'Raise to the war chief the record of victory / Lay at his feet the trophies of might / Forc'd from his foes as mementoes of enquiring / Tokens of strength in defending the right.'"[88] Farrugia is quick to point out that the "right" referred to in this hymn was not Brant's interests in his own people, the Six Nations, but was relating to Brant's interests of the British Empire.[89]

Figure 6: Joseph Brant Memorial, Author's Photo

[88] Farrugia, 135.

[89] Farrugia, 135.

With all these references to the British Empire, Farrugia and culture studies scholar Catherine Higginson highlight instances during which the Six Nations were able to impose their understanding of their history and their relationship with the British Empire. In his speech reminding the Six Nations to be "forever loyal to the British Crown" A.G. Smith also stated that "Canada [is] living under [a] form of government copied [from] the confederacy of the Six Nations. Uncle Sam had been first to follow the example, and then the Dominion wheeled in line."[90] This statement, however, was met with laughter from the non-Six Nations audience. Farrugia points out that Pauline Johnson's poem, "Brant, A Memorial Ode," which was commissioned for the unveiling and read by one of Brantford's leading industrialists, W.F. Cockshutt, also taints the patriotic espousing of the British Empire present at the unveiling. Within the Ode, Johnson likens Britain's power to clouds "foamy as the snow." In this analogy Britain's power is not solid or permanent. It is temporary and fleeting.[91] Johnson furthers her critique of the British, stating "Canada, thy plumes were hardly won / Without allegiance from thy Indian son" noting that the British needed the Six Nations to hold their control over their North American territory.[92] Although these ceremonies can be seen as a propagation of the British Empire, the presence of the Six Nations and their need to share how they understood their role in Empire, made the unveiling of the Brant Memorial a highly nuanced event, with multiple interpretations.

7.7 Other Six Nations Monuments: Red Jacket and non-First Nations Heroes

Throughout Canada and the U.S., other monuments to Six Nations people were erected either recognizing an important site belonging to the Six Nations of pre-contact or notable Six Nations historical figures well known to the non-Six Nations community. In his survey of monuments dedicated to the Six Nations in Canada and the United States in the 1950s,

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[90] Higginson, 162.

[91] Farrugia, 136.

[92] Farrugia, 136.

Iroquoian scholar Aren Akweks noted thirty monuments erected by local historical and educational associations, with at least twelve erected before the First World War.[93] Ten of these were dedicated to famous Six Nations people, including Red Jacket, Cornplanter, E. Pauline Johnson, and Ely S. Parker, while two other locations in Canada commemorated the arrival of "the loyalties Indians."[94] Like the Brant monument, the ten monuments were erected mostly by the non-Six Nations public to ensure that their "memory remains enshrined…as the friend of the white man."[95]

One of those honoured, Red Jacket, remains a controversial figure for Six Nations communities. On one hand, he helped navigate his people through the trying times of the American Revolution and the War of 1812,[96] but in doing so, has been credited with signing away Six Nations land to the U.S. government in a series of treaties. Some traditional Six Nations people believe that it is Red Jacket who is noted in the Code of Handsome Lake as the figure who had to move earth from one place to another for eternity as punishment for selling land that was given to the Six Nations by the Creator.[97] Erected in between the laying of the cornerstone and final unveiling of the Brant Memorial, Red Jacket's Monument shares many similarities to the Brant Memorial. For example, the Red Jacket Monument was mostly paid for and erected by Williams C. Bryant, the Buffalo Historical Society, and other by non-Six Nations people.[98] When Red Jacket's remains were removed from the Buffalo Creek cemetery to be interred at the Forest Lawn Cemetery, forty graves of other Six Nations people were disrupted. Even when interring the remains at Forest Lawn, only the remains of

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[93] Aren Akweks, *Monuments to the Six Nations Indians* (Hogansburg, New York: Akwesasne Mohawk Counselor Organization, no date).

[94] Akweks, 42 and 66. The two locations noting the arrival of the "Loyalist Indians" were the Mohawk Chapel outside of Brantford, Ontario, and the historical plaque noting "The Coming of the Mohawks" on the Tyendinaga Reservation in Ontario.

[95] Akweks about the Logan Monument in Fort Hill Cemetery in New York, 19.

[96] Akweks, 21-25 and 36-40 and Lauren Grewe, "'To bid his people Rise': Political and Spiritual Contests at Red Jacket's Reburial," *NAIS: Journal of the First Nations American and Indigenous Studies Association* 1, 2 (2014): 49.

[97] Jake Thomas, 92 and Elias Johnson, *Legends, Traditions and Laws of the Iroquois, or the Six Nations, and the History of the Tuscarora Indian* (Lockport, New York: Union Printing and Publishing Company, 1881), 205.

[98] *Obsequies of Red Jacket*, 3 and 8 and Grewe, 44.

Red Jacket, Young King, Destroy Town, Captain Pollard and his wife and granddaughter, Tall Peter, and Little Billy, could be identified, leaving nine others unidentified.[99] For the interest of the non-Six Nations audience present, the event was inaccurately billed as the reburial of Six Nations veterans who aided the U.S. in war and the first time the Six Nations had held a general council since the Revolutionary War. Highlighting the apparent animosity that existed between the Six Nations from Canada and the United States, the organizers added that the Six Nations from Grand River had initially rejected their invitation to the reinternment.[100]

Although it could be argued that this reburial ceremony brought the Six Nations communities from Grand River, Tonawanda, and Buffalo Creek closer together,[101] it was in no way the first time the two groups had been together to council with each other. In times before this, including land claims, the War of 1812, and temperance issues, both groups had met to discuss various issues affecting their Confederacy.[102] As Six Nations scholar Rick Monture has explained, the Six Nations councils in the U.S. and Canada were never divided. Although they exist independently of each other, they both share a common history, language, and "retain strong connections to each other through intermarriage, ceremonial events, and other social occasions."[103] Monture further states that because of these connections, "each reserve/reservation community has a sense of itself as a particular place with distinct customs and identity, but each is also aware of its deeper connection to the larger Haudenosaunee world."[104]

Also, like the Brant Memorial, the Six Nations people present did not stand by and conform to the narrative presented by Bryant and the Buffalo Historical Society. With the grand

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[99] *Obsequies of Red Jacket*, 9, 10, and 81-86.

[100] *Obsequies of Red Jacket*, 60 and 86.

[101] Grewe, 51.

[102] See *Chainbreaker's War: A Seneca Chief Remembers the American Revolution*, edited by Jeanne Winston Adler (New York: Black Dome Press, 2002); Richard W. Hill Sr., 67; and Elias Johnson, 153-164.

[103] Rick Monture, *We Share Our Matters: Two Centuries of Writing and Resistance at Six Nations of the Grand River* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2014), 3.

[104] Monture, 3.

assemblage of Six Nations people present from both sides of the border,[105] it was impossible for political undertones of the Six Nations not to be present.[106] One of the first undertones to be struck was against the Buffalo Historical Society's narrative that Red Jacket was a Christian. Although the reinternment ceremony for Red Jacket was a Christian ceremony, John Buck, from Grand River, delivered a traditional Six Nations condolence for Red Jacket.[107] During his speech, famed Six Nations Civil War veteran and relative of Red Jacket, Ely S. Parker, brought Red Jacket's George Washington medal to the reinternment as a symbol of the Six Nations/U.S. treaty relationship. Parker further claimed Red Jacket followed the traditional spirituality of the Six Nations, that the Christian reburial was a farce, and that Red Jacket did not fit into the American narrative the Buffalo Historical Society was trying to create.[108] Although this claim is countered in E. Pauline Johnson's poem recited at the reburial, claiming Red Jacket practiced a "First Nations Christianity,"[109] Parker's words on this matter are clear. According to Parker, Red Jacket "used all the powers of his eloquence in opposition to the introduction of civilization and Christianity among his people. In this, as in many other things, he signally failed."[110] Parker's words even countered the poem Walt Whitman wrote for the occasion and many of the non-Six Nations speakers who talked about the "vanishing Indian:" the concept that all First Nations people would disappear with the taming of the frontier and through assimilation into non-First Nations society. Instead of focusing on the "vanishing Indian" Parker's speech pointed out that Europeans robbed Indians of their land and questioned the ethics of the organizers digging up Red Jacket and other Six Nations remains for their reburial stating "[w]hile living they [First

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[105] Noted Six Nations attendees in official account of the ceremonies prepared by the Buffalo Historical Society, *Obsequies of Red Jacket*, 12 and 14, include Chiefs Levi Jonathan (Onondaga), Benjamin Carpenter (Cayuga), Henry Clinch (Oneida), John Fraser (Mohawk), Moses Hill (Tuscarora), Andrew Snow (Seneca), John Buck (Onondaga), Joseph Porter (Oneida), Thomas Isaac (Tuscarora), David Hill (Seneca), John Hill (Seneca), Robert David (Cayuga), Rev. Zachariah Jamison (Seneca), Thomas Lay (Seneca), Silver Smith (Seneca), William Jones (Seneca), John Jacket (Seneca), Chief Mountpleasant (Tuscarora), Thomas David (Cayuga), Thomas Jamieson (Cayuga), Peter Powless (Mohawk), Ely S. Parker (Seneca), Mary Jamieson (Mohawk), and E. Pauline and sister Evelyn Johnson (Mohawk).

[106] Grewe, 44.

[107] *Obsequies of Red Jacket*, 12.

[108] Grewe, 45.

[109] Grewe, 45.

[110] Parker as cited in Grewe, 57. For more on Red Jacket's fight against Christianity, see Akweks, 36-60.

Nations people] are not left alone – when dead they are not left unmolested."[111] In the ultimate irony, Parker's remains would also be dug up by the Buffalo Historical Society and be reinterred beside Red Jacket at the Forest Lawn cemetery in 1897.[112]

Although challenged, the Buffalo Historical Society remained undeterred in their narrative of Red Jacket's life. In their official printed version of the reinternment, the organizers changed the wording of Pauline Johnson's poem, toning down its political nature. Johnson's poem, about loss, mourning, citizenship, and national belonging, had one very important line changed. Instead of saying "occupies my [Six Nations] land To make America your [non-First Nations settlers] rightful home," Johnson's poem found at Chiefswood National Historic Site in Ohsweken at the Grand River Territory says "occupy my [Six Nations] land And made America your [non-First Nations settlers] rightful home" forcing the Six Nations into the American melting-pot narrative.[113]

7.8 Six Nations Use of Outside Social Originations

The Red Jacket Memorial was not the first time the Six Nations used a historical society as a place of political rallying. Due to the popularity of Six Nations cultural and military history in non-Six Nations society, many social organizations were more than willing to accept Six Nations members or guest speakers. In 1898, the Six Nations became members of the Ontario Historical Society. For their part, the society thought that by bringing the Six Nations into their organization, they could "cooperate in studies so important and beneficial" they "cannot but tend to elevate the Iroquois…to a higher plane of culture and civilization. The result depends upon their own zeal and persistency, much more than upon the encouragement of their white brothers."[114] However, this was not how the Six Nations viewed their

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[111] Parker as cited in Grewe, 57.

[112] *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society* vol. 8, edited by Frank H. Severance (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1905.

[113] Johnson as cited by Grewe, 62.

[114] *Annual Report of the Ontario Historical Society*, 1898 (Toronto: Warwick Brothers and Rutter, 1898), 29.

membership. During their initial induction of the Six Nations into the society, Six Nations Chiefs Nelles Monture and Deh-ka-nen-ra-neh used their addresses to the society to challenge their political status as wards, advocating for more control over their own affairs and for the members of the society to advocate these matters on the Six Nations' behalf.[115]

In March 1911, Six Nations again used the Ontario Historical Society to advocate against the *Indian Act*. Meeting in Brantford, the society visited the Six Nations Council House. During this visit, Chief John W.M. Elliot addressed society, making a case for Six Nations nationhood. In his address he stated that the *Indian Act* unfairly grouped the Six Nations with other First Nations when, historically, Six Nations were, especially in their military histories, known to be allies to Great Britain and therefore held a special place within British Canada.[116] Although this appeal fell on deaf ears, possibly because Six Nations Superintendent, past president, and current member of the Brant Historical Society, Gordon J. Smith, was present, the historical society agreed to discuss these points at their next meeting as this was the first time they had heard of these grievances.[117]

Six Nations people shared their military history with other social groups as a way to advocate their political positions. One of the earliest and continuing organizations that accepted First Nations people was the Masonic Lodge. Whether it was appealing because of its use of oratory and ritual, or for the hope of fraternal benefits (including insurance and sick benefits), Six Nations people including Joseph Brant, Red Jacket, and Ely Parker joined the Masonic Lodge, using it as a platform to teach the non-First Nations community about their treaties, military past, and their community's current political issues.[118] This was especially true for Parker, who, when speaking at Masonic or other social organizations would bring Red Jacket's George Washington medal to highlight the Six Nations treaty and military

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[115] *Annual Report of the Ontario Historical Society*, 1898, 41 and 42.

[116] *Annual Report of the Ontario Historical Society*, 1911 (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1911), 46.

[117] *Annual Report of the Ontario Historical Society*, 1911, 48.

[118] Joy Porter, *First Nations American Freemasonry: Associationalism and Performance in America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 6, 10, 13, 14, 17, 46, 50, 126, 131, 148, and 228 and George Emery and J.C. Herbert Emery, *A Young Man's Benefit: The Independent Order of Odd Fellows and Sickness Insurance in the United States and Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1999), 47, 49, and 103.

relationship with the United States.[119] Two other fraternal organizations popular with the Six Nations were the Independent Order of the Foresters, especially after Six Nations doctor Oronhyatekha became its first Grand Master in 1878, and the Orange Order. With the Orange Order establishing their own lodge at Six Nations in 1886,[120] the order give voice to Six Nations concerns to 200,000 non-Six Nations members throughout Canada.[121] The Orange Order also expanded into the Six Nations communities at Deseronto, Oneida, Ohsweken, and Tyendinaga. Six Nations men also participated in the many fraternal organizations located in non-First Nations communities that surrounded their territories, [122] sharing fraternal brotherhood, the history of the Six Nations military, and the current state of Six Nations political issues.

7.9 Six Nations and Military Celebrations

The unveiling of the Red Jacket Monument would not be the last time the Six Nations took part in ceremonies celebrating national narratives. Almost thirty years after the erection of the Brant Memorial and the Red Jacket Monument, twelve Chiefs of the Six Nations, as the descendants of the twelve Chiefs who fought for Britain on the Plains of Abraham, petitioned Viscount Grey, the Governor General, to attend the tercentenary celebrations of the fall of Quebec. With a contingent of the 37th Haldimand Rifles regiment already invited, the Chiefs suggested they could be attached to them and, knowing non-First Nations communities wanted spectacle, the Chiefs further offered to appear in historical costume for the pageant

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[119] Grewe,55 and Francis Paul Prucha, *Indian Peace Medals in American History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 9.

[120] Keith Jamieson and Michelle A. Hamilton, *Dr. Oronhyatekha: Security, Justice, and Equality* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2016), 181 and Sally M. Weaver, "The Iroquois: The Consolidation of the Grand River Reserve in the Mid-Nineteenth Century, 1847-1875," in *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations*, edited by Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994), 231.

[121] Peter B. Waite, *Canada 1874-1896: Arduous Destiny* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), 87.

[122] Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 95 and 99. The popularity of these fraternal and service clubs may have also led the Six Nations at Grand River, to form their own similar organizations including temperance societies and the Indian Moral Association.

that was to be staged there.[123] The Six Nations Council also offered to contribute fifty dollars to purchase the Plains of Abraham battlefield.[124] Offers like this, and the participation of the Six Nations in the loyalist celebrations in the 1880s, only whetted the appetite of the non-First Nations public when it came time for the centenary of the War of 1812.

7.10 Six Nations and the Centenary of the War of 1812

The first invitation for Grand River Six Nations participation in the centenary celebrations for the War of 1812 appeared in 1909 and continued into 1914. From the onset, the Grand River Six Nations were not willing for their presence at these gatherings to be for the entertainment of the non-First Nations audience. When the Department of Indian Affairs denied the request of the Grand River Confederacy Council the ability to send delegates to the Ontario Historical Society meeting in Toronto in July 1909 to discuss their role in the war's centenary, the council minutes state that Chief A.G. Smith, the delegate the department had rejected,

> pointed out that the Department had gone beyond the province of its right and power in setting him aside as the duly appointed first delegate of this Council to represent them at the Historical Society meeting in Toronto. What right has the Department to interfere in such matters as these. This Council knows who to send as its delegates better than the Department. This procedure on the party of the Department is unjust to the Six Nations Council, and a direct violation to our Treaty Rights with the Imperial Government.[125]

The Council then requested the Department "give a full and explicit explanation as to the reason why it set aside Chief A.G. Smith when he was appointed delegate…but approved of Peter M. Jamieson attending the meeting."[126] Although the department was quick to point out their rejection of A.G. Smith as a delegate was because they believed two delegates were too

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[123] Six Nations Council to Viscount Grey, 15 June 1908, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3121, File 329,190.

[124] Excerpt from the Six Nations Council Minutes, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3121, File 329,190.

[125] Extract from the Minutes of the Six Nations Council, 6 July 1909, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3146, File 347,300.

[126] Extract from the Minutes of the Six Nations Council, 6 July 1909, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3146, File 347,300.

many, and they would allow A.G. Smith to go if the Council wished,[127] the tone of this exchange foreshadowed the political nature these delegations were to play. The speeches given at these commemorative events were to be political and remind non-First Nations society of the role the Six Nations had played during the war.

Differences between the Six Nations and the Department of Indian Affairs erupted again. After receiving an invitation from Ontario Premier James P. Whitney and his cabinet to discuss a memorial for the War of 1812 in January 1911, the Six Nations, wanting all six to be represented, agreed to send two Chiefs per nation to meet with Whitney.[128] The department rejected this request as they saw the sending of twelve Chiefs to the meeting as a waste of time. The department also recommended that the department's Superintendent of Six Nations, Gordon J. Smith, act as the representative for Six Nations as he would be attending the meetings as the representative for the Brant Historical Society.[129] Why the department took this step to eliminate the Six Nations participation with Whitney and the Ontario Historical Society is unknown as when the Six Nations were admitted as members of the society in 1898, the society, as a symbol of Six Nations nationhood, admitted six separate delegates from each nation.[130]

To end the constant overruling of their appointments to committees commemorating the War of 1812, in January 1912, the Six Nation Confederacy Council established a standing committee of Chiefs Abram Lewis, J.S. Johnson, David Jamieson, Alexander Hill, and A.G. Smith to deal with all matters regarding the 100th anniversary of the War of 1812. The Department of Indian Affairs approved this committee.[131]

Following their ancestor's relationship with Isaac Brock, the Six Nations agreed to send eighteen chiefs and participate in Brock's Centenary in 1912. Although the appointment of

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[127] Letter from J.D. McLean to Superintendent Smith, 16 July 1909, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3146, File 347,300.

[128] Extract from the Minutes of the Six Nations Council, 10 January 1911, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3146, File 347,300.

[129] Gordon B. Smith to the Department of Indian Affairs, 13 June 1911, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3146, File 347,300.

[130] *Annual Report of the Ontario Historical Society, 1898*, 29.

[131] Extract from the Minutes of the Six Nations Council, 12 January 1912, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3146, File 347,300.

the 1812 standing committee streamlined the Grand River Council's ability to plan and communicate with federal, provincial, and local authorities, it did not compromise the political nature of the speeches given by the Six Nations delegates at War of 1812 commemorations. Planning the Brock commemoration, not only were eighteen representatives chosen, but two speakers, Frederick Loft and Chief A.G. Smith, were chosen to speak and William D. Loft was selected to create a wreath or shield that "was a very handsome piece of work on leather" which would be "very much admired at the celebration." The shield would be delivered to Queenston by Chief J.S. Johnson.[132] Organizers did not prepare for the political speeches the Six Nations delegates gave at the commemoration.

The United Empire Loyalists Association organized the Brock commemoration, planning a four-day event. On 11 October, school children held commemorative events, and on the 13th, every cannon in the dominion was supposed to sound and every church was to hold a commemorative service. On the 14th a general holiday was called.[133] The commemoration itself was held on the 12th. Beginning with a luncheon at various hotels, the formal program at the memorial did not begin until the delegation from Six Nations arrived.[134] Most of the speeches at the event, like their loyalist celebrations counterparts, did little to ensure an understanding of the role the Six Nations played in the war. Most dealt with the war, its promotion of Canadian unity, Canadian militarism and the militia myth, and educating children about their loyalty to the British Crown through teaching and military drill.[135] The Six Nations presence at the commemoration was also for the entertainment of the non-First Nations audience, with the Six Nations delegates present, totaling twenty-three from their originally proposed eighteen, "formed a Council, and, in recognition of her services as

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[132] Extract from the Minutes of the Six Nations Council, 12 January 1912, 7 October 1912, 9 October 1912, and Extract from Superintendent Gordon B. Smith's Report to the Department of Indian Affairs, 17 October 1912 LAC, RG10, Vol. 3146, File 347,300.

[133] Alexander Fraser ed., *Brock Centenary 1812-1912: Account of the Celebration at Queenston Heights, Ontario, on the 12th October 1912* (Toronto: William and Briggs, 1912), 2, 3, 4, 5, and 30.

[134] Fraser, 32.

[135] Fraser, 45-70 and 75-76.

Honorary Secretary of the Celebration Committee, conferred on Miss Helen M. Merrill the honour of tribal membership by the name 'Kah-ya-tonhs' – one who keeps records."[136]

Unlike the loyalist celebrations, the Six Nations came to the Brock commemoration with a different message for its non-First Nations audience. During his speech, Chief and Secretary for the Six Nations Confederacy Council A.G. Smith explained that the treaty relationship between the Six Nations and the British only required the Six Nations to fight for Britain if the British were attacked by a foreign power. Therefore, the Six Nations should not have supported the British during the American Revolution.[137] Smith continued, criticizing the violations against the Six Nations perpetrated by British and the Canadian governments.

> [T]here was the very strong inducement that they [the Six Nations] would be guaranteed a perpetual independence and self-government, and also that they would be amply indemnified for any and all losses that they might sustain by their services. Now we know that those pledges were not adequately fulfilled, yet, notwithstanding this fact, the Six Nations remained faithful to their adherence to the British Crown.[138]

Referring to them as "blood bought rights and privileges," Smith echoed his hope that there would soon be a Six Nations representative on the floor of the House of Commons, giving voice to treaty and other concerns of First Nations people. He also hoped that the people with official or civil authority at the celebration would hear his words and go home to their places of power to make his ideas a reality as "it is 'up to you' to see to it that justice is done by this people who have rendered such inestimable service to this country and to Britain."[139] About why non-First Nations people knew so little about Six Nations history and understanding of their place in Canada, Smith stated,

> [t]he Six Nations have never had a historian of their own to record the brave deeds of valour of their warriors, and therefore get but scant justice in the historical records of this country; naturally the historians magnify the achievements of their own peoples, while I alarm that more credit should be given to my own people.[140]

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[136] Fraser, 44.

[137] Fraser, 71.

[138] A.G. Smith as quoted by Fraser, 71-72.

[139] Fraser 73.

[140] A.G. Smith as quoted by Fraser, 72.

As Smith noted, "My remarks may not suit everyone." It can be understood why these statements could quite controversial considering they were made at a celebration commemorating the British victory at Queenston Heights. The speech, however, was met with approval by the Six Nations' delegation as "at the end of Chief Smith's speech three rousing war whoops were given, led by Chiefs Johnson and Elliot, and joined by all present."[141]

Frederick Loft's speech did not address comparable political issues, but instead, as a member of the United Empire Loyalist Association, he framed his message to be palatable to the non-First Nations audience.[142] According to Loft, "We as a people should never lose sight of the great importance that must attach to this occasion, and of the duty we owe our children to do all we can to impress their minds with the precepts of loyalty to the king and crown, that we should be ever steadfast and immovable."[143] About the Six Nations role in the war, Loft stated, "It is not for me to laud or unduly magnify the important part the Indians have played in wars that have marked our county's history-making; but should such an emergency again present itself, I feel confident that the Indians will never be found wanting."[144] The official account of the commemoration does not say what the reaction of the Six Nations delegation was to Loft's speech.

Of the two speeches, which were the more accurate sentiments of the Six Nations community? It is hard to say. The Six Nations never officially denounced their alliance with the British, but did point out that it was far from perfect. Even when discussing the meaning of the wreath they were constructing for the Brock commemoration, the Six Nations Council said the wreath will act "as an expression from the Six Nations of Loyalty to the British Crown in 1812, and 1912."[145] The Six Nations Council gave this wreath to the care of the Niagara-on-the-Lake Historical Society, while Miss Merrill of the Society sent the Council a

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[141] Fraser, 73.

[142] Knowles, 126.

[143] Fraser, 74.

[144] Fraser, 75.

[145] Extract from the Minutes of the Six Nations Council, 1 October 1912, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3146, File 347,300.

photograph of the Brock commemoration which the Council enlarged and hung in the Six Nations Council Chamber.[146] As the Six Nations continued to be invited to War of 1812 commemorations throughout 1912 and 1914, the messages found in A.G. Smith's speech were probably echoed by other Six Nations delegates. Although the Six Nations attended the commemoration of the Battle of Beaver Dams, again organized by the United Empire Loyalist Association,[147] no recording of the speeches said at that commemoration could be found. In their publication of the centenary celebrations at the Battle of Lundy's Lane, the Lundy's Lane Historical Society did not reproduce Chief Hill's speech verbatim.[148] What was published, however, echoes what A.G. Smith said at the Brock Centenary. According to Lundy's Lane Historical Society, Chief Hill told all who gathered at the ceremony, the Six Nations,

> were glad to be here to-day at this celebration of 100 years of peace, and glad also on account of the fact that their forefathers had given assistance to the British Arms. The men of the Six Nations were not savages, but a self-supporting community. Sometimes they envied their neighbors in the Reserves who were under no expense, while here they were under laws which were against the Indian. He asked all to use their influence with those in power, and to regard them as brothers who had shared in the defence of Canada. He was sorry to bring up their grievances at this time, but they had no other opportunity.[149]

What is also telling is that this abbreviated version of Hill's speech was still too much for some newspapers to publish. *The Niagara Falls Review* reproduced the speech found in *The Centenary Celebration of the Battle of Lundy's Lane July Twenty-Fifth Nineteen Hundred and Fourteen*,[150] word for word while *The Globe* in Toronto noted in their headline,

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[146] Extract from the Minutes of the Six Nations Council, 5 and 6 November 1912, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3146, File 347,300.

[147] Extract from the Minutes of the Six Nations Council, 10 and 16 June 1912, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3146, File 347,300.

[148] It is unknown who the Chief Hill that gave this speech is. According to *The Centenary Celebration of the Battle of Lundy's Lane July Twenty-Fifth Nineteen Hundred and Fourteen* (Niagara Falls: Lundy's Lane Historical Society, 1919), 27 and the Six Nations RSVP from their Council Minutes, 1 October 1912, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3146, File 347,300, it could be either H.M. Hill, Josiah Hill, Richard Hill, or William C. Hill.

[149] Chief Hill as cited in *The Centenary Celebration of the Battle of Lundy's Lane July Twenty-Fifth Nineteen Hundred and Fourteen*, 68.

[150] *The Niagara Falls Review* as quoted in *The Centenary Celebration of the Battle of Lundy's Lane July Twenty-Fifth Nineteen Hundred and Fourteen*, 101.

"Inspiring Lessons from the War of 1812. Glories of War and Peace Sounded at Lundy's Lane Celebration–Dr. Alex. Fraser on Why the British Won–An International Jubilation." Within this article appeared a further abbreviation of Chief Hill's speech, with the headline, "The Indians' Protest." According to this account,

> Chief Hill of the Six Nations Indians, Brantford, whose race came in for warm ranks for their aid to the British in the war, added a pathetic note to the proceedings. He, with several other Chiefs, had listened to the speeches, and when he was called upon at the last he said the Indians in Canada were unfairly treated. In the United States the roads on the reserves were maintained by the Government and not the Indians. 'We are sorry to mingle complaints with this celebration,' he said, 'but it seems to be the only place that we can get a hearing.'[151]

Back in Brantford, Chief H.M. Hill's speech was not even mentioned in the local newspaper. *The Brantford Expositor*, however did note that one of the speakers at the event was Major Gordon B. Smith, the Superintendent of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Grand River Six Nations.[152] In the transcript of Smith's speech, the role the Six Nations played in the battle or the understanding they had about their military service was never explained, only noting that the Six Nations troops were on the right flank with the Royal Scots.[153]

Another clue to the fact that Chief A.G. Smith's speech contained the true message of the Six Nations and their understanding of the war can be found in a 1937 visit to the Brock Memorial by the Grand River Six Nations and a descendent of Isaac Brock, Mrs. Arabella Stewart. While at the monument, "Mr. Elliot Moses, speaking on behalf of the Six Nations, drew attention to the fact that the monument made no mention to the part the Indians played, though the names of all military units are recorded in the monument."[154] Although Indian Agent K.P. Randle's report to the Department of Indian Affairs stated that "there is a strong movement in the Niagara Peninsula to correct this neglect," the lack of Six Nations

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[151] *The Globe* as quoted in *The Centenary Celebration of the Battle of Lundy's Lane July Twenty-Fifth Nineteen Hundred and Fourteen*, 83.

[152] "Hundredth Anniversary of Battle of Lundy's Lane Being Celebrated Today," *The Brantford Expositor*, 25 July 1914, 8.

[153] *The Centenary Celebration of the Battle of Lundy's Lane July Twenty-Fifth Nineteen Hundred and Fourteen*, 68-72.

[154] Extract from the Minutes of the Six Nations Elected Council, 5 August 1937, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3146, File 347,300.

representation in the War of 1812 would not be completed until the commemoration of the bi-centenary of the War of 1812 in 2012-2014.[155]

[155] Extract from the Minutes of the Six Nations Elected Council, 5 August 1937, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3146, File 347,300 and John Law, "First Nations Memorial Unveiled at Queenston Heights" *Niagara Falls Review*, 2 October 2016.

Chapter 8: Military Performances/Displays and Political Action

8.1 Royal and Vice-Regal Visits

As can be seen with the 1860 visit of the Prince of Wales, the Six Nations used the public stage to air their political/treaty grievances during royal or vice-regal visits. Between 1860 and 1914, there were fourteen royal or vice-regal visits to Grand River Territory. Many of these visits were short stopovers in-between destinations, leaving few permanent records. Others, although short, demonstrate the varied ways in which the Six Nations and non-Six Nations public understood these visits. Colonial administrators hoped these visits, by highlighting farming and other aspects of Euro-Canadian life, could bring the Six Nations to 'civilization and also change Six Nations/British relationship from allies to British and Canadian subjecthood, therefore alienating the treaties signed by the British and Six Nations and forcing the Six Nations to be wards of the Crown instead of allies. These ideas, however, were countered by Six Nations, who continued to remind their royal visitors of their joint military past and allied relationship.

The Marquis of Lorne and his wife, Princess Louise, were given a limited introduction to the Six Nations of Grand River during their 1879 visit to the area. Intended to bolster Imperial unity and bring new provinces into the Canadian/Imperial fold,[1] the couple visited Brantford's Young Ladies College and dedicated the Lorne Bridge in Brantford. The only introduction to the history of the Six Nations in Brantford came from the city's mayor, Robert Henry, who stated in his address that "this County owes its name to a distinguished warrior and Chief of the Six Nation Indians, to whose memory it is proposed to erect on this square a monument which will in some measure adequately perpetuate his noble deeds."[2] Alongside this brief history, the only representation from Six Nations was the uniformed

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[1] R.H. Hubbard, "Viceregal Influence on Canadian Society," in *The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age*, edited by W.L. Morton (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), 260.

[2] "Vice Regal Progress," *The Brantford Expositor*, 16 September 1879, 1.

students from the local residential school, the Mohawk Institute. According to *The Brantford Expositor*,

> One of the pleasing features of the day was the erection of a neat stand for the Mohawk School pupils. It was situated on the corner of Darling and George streets, and no more intelligent spectators viewed the royal pageant than those dusky sons for the forest, surrounded by their teachers, and with Chief G.H.M. Johnson looking down in benign dignity upon them.[3]

Even the press understood that the presence of the uniformed students was to show the royal couple the successful assent of the Institute's children from the "dusky sons of the forest" to the civilization found through their military styled training and adherence to British Empire. Themes of savage warrior vs. civilized subject continued as the royal couple continued their tour of Canada, during which they met other First Nations people as they crossed the prairies by horseback and steamer.[4]

During what was supposed to be a five-minute stopover at the Brantford in 1901, the Duke and Duchess of York and Cornwall juxtaposed the image of savage and civilized First Nations people.[5] Representing the civilized Six Nations, the cadet corps from the Mohawk Institute was on hand to act as the Duke and Duchess' honour guard along with the cadets from the Brantford Collegiate Institute. The silver communion set and bible, given to the Six Nation in 1712 by Queen Anne to further cement the alliance, was present, in which the royal couple took great interest. Following tradition, the royal visitors wrote their names in the bible. Near the end of their visit, *The Expositor* reported,

> The Duke then, turning to the mayor, asked if it was not the intention that they should meet some Indian chiefs here. Captain Cameron was called forward, and after a little delay brought up two Indian chiefs in war paint, who were severally presented to their Royal Highnesses. They handed the Duke an address from the Six Nations Indians, which was taken as read.[6]

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[3] "Vice Regal Progress," *The Brantford Expositor*, 16 September 1879, 1.

[4] Hubbard, 262.

[5] The Duke and Duchess of York and Cornwall became King George V and Queen Mary in 1910. They both sat on the British throne until the King's death on 20 January 1936.

[6] "Glorious Welcome to the Royal Guests," *The Brantford Expositor*, 15 October 1901, 1.

It is unknown what was written in their address to the Duke and Duchess, but it would have been interesting to compare their thoughts with those offered by other First Nations people in Canada. As noted by the reporter in *The Expositor*, this visit was part of a larger Imperial tour. Beginning in Australia and ending in Canada, the royal couple toured all of Great Britain's colonies to espouse the goodwill between them and the Mother Country.[7] After their visit to Brantford, this tour continued into the Canadian prairies where the Duke met and distributed medals to First Nations leaders.[8]

Other royal visitors spent more time touring Brantford and the Grand River Territory. Within these tours, it is very easy to see that these visits were not only about seeing the uncivilized and bringing First Nations people into Imperial and Canadian civilization, but for the Six Nations, it was a time to review and discuss their treaty relationship with the Crown's representative.

In October 1872, the Six Nations addressed the Governor General, the Earl of Dufferin, in Hamilton, Ontario. During this meeting, Chief John Carpenter gave the Earl a carved cane and an address written by Six Nations' Chiefs was read by Superintendent Jasper Gilkison assuring the Duke of their "never-failing loyalty to the Crown…sealed by the blood of their ancestors, and which they will never disgrace."[9] The Six Nations address further stated,

> The Six Nations have always been assured of, and enjoyed, care and protection under Her Majesty's Government, thus maintaining and unbroken alliance and which continued good faith will perpetuate, as conveyed in their ancient Wampum Treaty, 'The Silver Chain, which does not Tarnish."[10]

In reply, the Earl, side stepping the issues of the British alliance, hoped the Six Nations would "endeavor to emulate their White brethren" in "civilization," industry, and sobriety. He further advocated for the continued education of Six Nation children "in the arts of

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[7] "The Royal Visit," *The Brantford Expositor*, 15 October 1901, 2.

[8] For more about the Duke and Duchess in the prairies, see Wade A Henry, "Imagining the Great White Mother and the Great King: Aboriginal Tradition and Royal Representation at the 'Great Pow-wow' of 1901," Journal of the Canadian Historical Association 11, 1 (2000): 87-108.

[9] Jasper T. Gilkison, *Narrative. Visit of the Governor-General and the Countess of Dufferin to the Six Nation Indians. August 25, 1874* 2nd ed. No Publisher, 1875, 16.

[10] Gilkison, 16.

civilization as well as in those of war" so they "may be found worthy Brethren of the White race, and the alliance cemented by the blood of Our Fathers, shed in the same noble and good cause, may ripen into firm and lasting friendship."[11]

The conversation started in 1872 by the Governor General and the Six Nations continued during the Earl and Countess of Dufferin's 1874 tour when they not only visited Brantford, but spent an extensive amount of time touring the Grand River Territory. Patterns of celebration developed for most royal visits. The communities of Brantford and Six Nations were decorated with similar evergreen archways, banners, Union Jacks, and blue, white, and red bunting. The royal visitors were met at the Brantford railway station or the city limits and brought to the location of either the main celebration of speeches and dedications, or parade to the community's significant sites, usually with accompaniment of a marching band and honour guard. After the parade or dedication, the royal visitors stopped at the Royal Chapel of the Mohawks, the first royal chapel in Canada, and possibly the residential school, the Mohawk Institute, before meeting with the Chiefs of the Six Nations. The Dufferins' visit followed this pattern. According to the Governor General, it seemed that the Six Nations had decorated in a similar fashion to that of non-First Nations communities, with and archway and arbor, a path to the council house "strewn with flowers" and a band playing a hymn in honor of the Queen.[12]

He also noted what made this meeting different than others. Highlighting royal connections and alliances, the Governor General stated,

> you must understand that it is no idle curiosity which brings me hither, but that when the Governor General and the representative of your Great Mother comes among you it is a genuine sign of the interest which the Imperial Government and the Government of Canada take in your welfare, and of their desire to show that your interests and your happiness are as much a matter of solicitude to them as are those of the rest of your fellow citizens.[13]

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[11] Gilkison, 17.

[12] William Leggo, *History of the Administration of the Earl of Dufferin in Canada* (Montreal: Lovell Printing and Publishing Company, 1878), 260-261.

[13] Leggo, 258. In Gilkison, 9, Six Nations Superintendent Jasper Gilkison's transcript of the Governor General's speech, in his souvenir booklet marking the Earl of Dufferin's visit, changed the statement, "of their desire to

For their part, the Six Nations, in their address to the Governor General, wanted to remind the royal representative of their alliance and how their forefathers had maintained it. In his address, Chief Jacob General stated,

> when British supremacy on this continent was in peril, their Indian forefathers shed brooks of blood on behalf of the English nation, and, if the services of the Six Nations were ever required again, in defense of the British flag, they would be willing to risk their lives as their forefathers had done. The Six Nations had confidence in the treaties they had with the English Government, none of which had ever been violated.[14]

The Earl of Dufferin replied to both the historical and contemporary situation of the Six Nations, noting that,

> it was on the bravery in arms and on the fidelity of your grandfathers that the Crown of England then relied. The memory of these transactions I can assure you shall never be allowed to pass away, and although you have ceased to be the warlike allies of Great Britain, we are still proud to hail you as its pacific and contented subjects.[15]

About the current state of the Six Nations alliance with the British Crown, the Earl of Dufferin continued that "[t]here is no part of your address which has given me greater pleasure than that in which you acknowledge that the British Crown has kept faith with its Indian subjects, and that you and all the members of the Six Nations have confidence in the word of the British Government."

Although both the Earl of Dufferin and Six Nations seemed to understand that the Six Nations relationship with the British Crown, based on treaties, was greater than that of relationship between the British Crown and its subjects in the rest of Canada, the original intent of the Dufferins' tour of Canada was to promote Imperial and Canadian unity, bringing not only First Nations people into the Canadian fold, but also the new provinces of British

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show that your interests and your happiness are as much a matter of solicitude to them as are those of the rest of your fellow citizens" to read "of their desire to show that your interest and your happiness are as much their solitude as are those of the rest of your fellow citizens."

[14] Leggo, 258 and Gilkison, 9.

[15] Leggo, 259. In Gilkison, 10, the word "grandfathers" is replaced by the word "ancestors."

Columbia, Prince Edward Island, and Manitoba.[16] To this end, the Governor General told the Six Nations,

> Although the days are happily past in which we need your assistance on the battle field, you must not suppose that we do not count with equal anxiety upon your assistance in those peaceful efforts to which the people of Canada are now devoted, or that we fail to value you as faithful and industrious coadjutors in the task we have undertaken of building up of the Dominion of Canada into a prosperous, rich and contented nation.[17]

In this vein, the Governor General praised the New England Company and the programs of the Imperial and Canadian governments, claiming

> I believe that one chief reason why the Government of Canada has been so pre-eminently successful in maintaining the happiest and most affectionate relations with various Indian nations with whom it has had to deal, has been that it has recognized the rights of those people to live according to their own notions of what is fittest for their happiness, and most suitable for the peculiar circumstances in which they are placed. I am glad to think that in doing so they have already begun to reap the fruits of their forbearance and good sense, and that from ocean to ocean, amidst every tribe of Indians, the name of Canada is synonymous with humanity, with good faith, and with benevolent treatment.[18]

The Earl of Dufferin continued to instruct the Six Nations on what they should do to ensure that the progress they had made not been in vain:

> In the first place, let me entreat you with all the earnestness I can, to devote all the energies which you possess to the improvement of your agriculture. Of course I am well aware that a nation of hunters cannot be expected even in one or two generations so completely to change those habits which are engraven into their very nature as to rise to a level with other communities who have followed the occupation of agriculture for thousands of years. Still you must remember that, making every allowance which can justly be demanded in your behalf, on that score, there is room

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[16] Hubbard, 260.

[17] Leggo, 259. Gilkison's account again changes wording of Governor General's speech. In Gilkison, 10, this section reads: "Although the days are happily past in which we need your assistance on the battle field, you must not suppose that we do not count with equal anxiety upon your assistance and co-operation in those peaceful efforts to which the people of Canada are now devoted, and that we do not look upon you as faithful and industrious coadjutors in the task we have undertaken of building up of the Dominion of Canada into a prosperous, rich and contented nation." Why Gilkison's version of this section of the speech is different has yet to be determined.

[18] Leggo, 260-261.

> for still further improvements, and in the course of the next generation the Government of the country and your fellow subjects will expect that you will compete with them on more equal terms than you are able to do at present in all those arts of peace, whether of agriculture or of mechanics, which it is necessary to cultivate for the purposes of your own support, and in the interests of your common country.
>
> In the next place–and now I am addressing myself to the young men of the nation, because I feel that it is scarcely necessary for that I should give any recommendation to their fathers–let me recommend you to avoid all excess in intoxicating liquors as if they were so much poison, as if it were the destruction of the happiness of your homes, of your health, of your energy, of everything which you ought to hold dear, as honorable and right-minded men.[19]

What is interesting about this section of the speech is the alteration of the wording done by Gilkison in his version which he gave to the Chiefs at Six Nations. Whether it was to further the Governor General's Canadian nation building or to demean Six Nations nationhood and allied relationship for wardship, Gilkison's version of this section of Dufferin's speech reads,

> In the first place, let me entreat you with all the earnestness I can, to devote all the energies which you possess to the improvement of your agriculture. Of course I am well aware that a nation of hunters cannot be expected even in one or two generations so completely to change those habits which are engraven into their very nature as to rise to a level with other communities who have followed the occupation of agriculture for *hundreds* of years. Still you must remember that, making every allowance which can justly be demanded in your behalf, on that score, there is room for still *greater* improvements, and *at all events*, in the course of the next generation the Government of the country and your fellow subjects will expect that you will compete with them on more equal terms than you are able to do at present in all those arts of peace, whether of agriculture or of mechanics, which it is necessary to cultivate for the purposes of your own support, and in the interests of *our* common country."
>
> In the next place–and now I am addressing myself to the young men [*omitting "of the nation"*] because I feel that it is scarcely necessary for that I should give any recommendation to their fathers–let me recommend you to avoid all excess in intoxicating liquors as if they were so much poison, as if it were the destruction of the happiness of your homes, of your health, of your energy, of everything which you ought to hold dear, as honorable and right-minded men."[20]

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[19] Leggo, 260.

[20] Gilkison, 11-12. Emphasis Added.

Although some of Gilkison's alterations to the speech may be harmless, the changing of "your" to "*our* common country" and omitting the "of the nation" from the second paragraph shows that Gilkison, and the Department of Indian Affairs furthered Dufferin's mission to promote national unity and the progress of First Nations people, ensuring they would be able to compete with non-First Nations farmers as equals. The alterations also point to the Six Nations not being independent nations, but subjects of the Canadian state. According to the subscriptions list found in William Leggo's *History of the Administration of the Earl of Dufferin in Canada*, only two people on the Six Nations Territory had copies of the original words spoken by the Earl of Dufferin in 1874. They were Rev. Canon Nelles of the New England Company and Chief G.H.M. Johnson.[21] The rest of the Six Nations had to rely on the words of the speech provided by Gilkison.

To conclude his remarks, the Earl assured the Six Nations, "that so long as I administer the government of this country, every Indian subject, no matter what his tribe, what his nation, or what his religion, will find me a faithful friend and sure protector." This statement was met by applause. The Duke continued, "never shall the word of Britain once pledged be broken, but from one end of the Dominion to the other, every Indian subject shall be made to feel that he enjoys the rights of a freeman, and that he can with confidence appeal to the British Crown for protection."[22] Both Leggo and Gilkison's account of the Governor General's visit end the same, with the Duke receiving an address from the Six Nations Agricultural Society and then being presented to Six Nations 1812 veterans. Adding spectacle to the proceedings, a war dance and sham battle between forces lead by Chiefs George Johnson and D. Jacket Hill was performed for the Duke and Duchess at the Six Nations Council House.[23]

Another royal visitor who spent a lot of time within the Grand River Territory was the third son of Queen Victoria, the Duke of Connaught, who visited Six Nations three times, in 1869, 1913, and, 1914. During his 1869 visit, he was escorted to Six Nations by Burford cavalry. They were met by "small armies of bright-eyed maidens" as they "waited and welcomed the

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[21] Leggo, List of Subscribers, no page number.

[22] Leggo, 261 and Gilkison, 12.

[23] Leggo, 262-263 and Gilkison, 14.

Prince as he passed through" at the Newport crossing. They were escorted to the Mohawk Chapel where a large crowd waited for him, some of whom were, according to *The Brantford Expositor*, "painted," "dressed in the costume of the Red Man," or in the case of Chief George H.M. Johnson, in a "fighting costume of buckskin."[24] As "loud cheers rent the air," the procession went into the chapel, where the Queen Anne Bible was presented to the Duke, in which he signed his name immediately under the signature of his brother, the Prince of Wales, after his visit in 1860. After the signing, he then visited the tomb of Joseph Brant and the Mohawk Institute. While at the Institute, the Duke, from the balcony, watched a war dance performed by Capt. Bill and nine "dressed and painted warriors."[25] The Duke was then presented with a red cloth, and, assisted by Simcoe Kerr and Chief G.H.M. Johnson, was made a honourary chief Kar-a-Kow-Dye (Flying Sun).[26] This chieftainship was then accepted by all Six Nations people assembled. The Prince was finally presented a woolen scarf "profusely worked with red beads."[27] When the introductions, visits, and ceremonies were completed, the Prince was led out of the Six Nations' Territory and received by the 38th Rifles at Brantford.[28]

It is hard to gauge how seriously the Duke of Connaught took his duties as an honourary Chief. What is known is he continued to stay in contact with the Chiefs of the Six Nations and again visited in 1913. Once the royal party arrived in Ohsweken, they were met by four Six Nations men in "warfare costume" carrying tomahawks and mounted on grey chargers and the Mohawk Institute cadets.[29] While the Six Nations Band played the God Save the Queen, the Institute cadets saluted with arms while others cheered and "war whooped."[30] Although the reporting of *The Brantford Expositor* attached stereotypical "savage" elements

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[24] "When Duke became An Indian Chief," *The Brantford Expositor*, 9 May 1914, 1.

[25] "When Duke became An Indian Chief," *The Brantford Expositor*, 9 May 1914, 20.

[26] "Governor-General a Man of Many Titles," *The Brantford Expositor*, 9 May 1914, 1.

[27] "When Duke became An Indian Chief," *The Brantford Expositor*, 9 May 1914, 20.

[28] "When Duke became An Indian Chief," *The Brantford Expositor*, 9 May 1914, 20.

[29] "Ducal Party had a Fine Time," *The Brantford Expositor*, 17 February 1913, 9.

[30] "Ducal Party had a Fine Time," *The Brantford Expositor*, 17 February 1913, 9.

to the Duke's reception,[31] this visit, as can be seen through the addresses, was a serious meeting. In an address written by Chiefs J.W.M. Elliot, Jacob H. Johnson, A.G. Smith, and Josiah Hill, Superintendent Gordon B. Smith's stated to the Duke that the Six Nations,

> are proud to be the allies of a great Empire whose proud boasts is that "the word of Britain once pledged will never be broken" and that today Karah-kon-tye is with them in council.
>
> Your brother chiefs on behalf of themselves and their people beg to assure your Royal Highness of their same unweaving allegiance to the British Crown which has characterized them in their relations with Great Britain since the earliest times.
>
> They would remind your Royal Highness that their ancestors, chiefs, and warriors, valiantly fought the battles with the British forces against the French for British possession and domination of this great lands[32] of ours, and also in the war of American Independence of how they sacrificed everything for Britain, in faithfulness to the covenant chain compact of treaty which existed between the British and the Iroquois Confederacy.
>
> Your brother chiefs desire to assure your Royal Highness that they are as faithful, loyal and as ready to take up arms should the occasion arise, in the defence of our common country as our forefathers were in the past.
>
> Your bother chiefs desire to memorialize your Royal Highness in respect to the treaty above referred to, as they are led to believe by the traditions which have been handed to down to them, that certain important concessions are there made to the Six Nations which have been ignored or disregarded by the Federal government since their affairs have been handed over to them by the operation of the "British North America Act" and in view of this fact, your brother chiefs beg to ask that your Royal Highness may be pleased to interest yourself towards securing for them a copy of the said treaty between the British and the Six Nations as their original copy have unfortunately been destroyed by fire.[33]

In response, the Governor General, in recognizing the British/Six Nations alliance, stated,

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[31] When commenting on what Six Nations people were wearing, "The Last Time the Duke of Connaught Paid a Visit," *The Brantford Expositor*, 9 May 1914, 1, reported that although "Fire-Keeper David Skye was clad in buckskin, paint, and feathers…others were there as agriculturalists."

[32] Like Gilkison before him, it seems Smith also changed the words of addresses which drastically altered the message of the Six Nations Chiefs. According to "Ducal Party had a Fine Time," *The Brantford Expositor*, 17 February 1913, 9, instead of the word "lands," Smith said Canada, again making it seem as the Six Nations viewed themselves as part of the Canadian state, when in fact they viewed themselves and their lands as separate from Canada.

[33] Address by J.W.M. Elliot, Jacob H. Johnson, A.G. Smith, and Josiah Hill to the Duke of Connaught, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3150, File 356,109.

> The Six Nations have always been the steadfast allies of the British Crown. When war was the prevailing condition, your people shed their blood and gave their lives for our mutual protection. Now that war has been a stranger to Canada for 100 years, and our attention is wholly devoted to the practice of peaceful industries and occupations, you have shown that you are equally ready to give your energy and attention to those pursuits for the lasting benefit of your people.[34]

After the address, the Chiefs asked the Duke to use his influence to secure for them their treaty rights. According to *The Brantford Expositor*, the Duke promised to consider the request. With the meeting adjourned, the Duke was then presented with the address written on buckskin.[35]

Through the reporting of *The Brantford Expositor,* it can be seen that the Duke of Connaught took his role as a chief and royal representative in the alliance with Six Nations seriously. In two of the accounts about his 1914 visit to the Grand River Territory, *The Expositor* stated "the visit of the duke to the Six Nations, of which he is a chief, was, of course, the reason for his coming to Brantford" and "twice before has he honored Brantford with his presence, but on both previous occasions he merely stopped off here for a few hours while on his way to or from the Six Nations' reserve, where he visited the Indian tribes of which he was made a chief in 1869."[36] According to *The Expositor*, the Duke's first priority was Six Nations and not the non-First Nations communities that surrounded their Territory. Although *The Expositor* did not report on the issues the Duke and Six Nations discussed during this visit, they did note that, following the royal custom, his daughter, Princess Patricia, signed the Queen Anne bible at the Mohawk Chapel.[37] The newspaper also hinted that the same grievances noted by the Six Nations during the Duke's 1913 visit regarding Six Nations treaty rights were reiterated with the Duke promising to consider the chiefs' requests.[38] Following the custom of the Six Nations/British alliance, at the end of the meeting, the Six Nations and the Duke exchanged presents with the Chiefs presenting the Duke portrait of

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[34] "Ducal Party had a Fine Time," *The Brantford Expositor*, 17 February 1913, 9.

[35] "The Last Time the Duke of Connaught Paid a Visit," *The Brantford Expositor,* 9 May 1914, 1.

[36] "The Last Time the Duke of Connaught Paid a Visit," and "City in Gala Attire for Coming of the Duke," *The Brantford Expositor*, 9 May 1914, 1 and 8.

[37] Governor General's Visit to Brantford," *The Brantford Expositor*, 11 May 1914, 8.

[38] "The Last Time the Duke of Connaught Paid a Visit," *The Brantford Expositor,* 9 May 1914, 1.

Joseph Brant and Duke presenting the Chiefs with portraits of Queen Victoria, the Prince Consort, and himself.[39]

8.2 Royal and Vice-Regal Celebrations and Presentations

Queen Victoria's birthday was another Six Nations celebration of their connection to the British Crown that was often reported incorrectly to the non-First Nations community. Celebrated by the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory since the 1860s, Queen Victoria's birthday has become an annual holiday with many meanings. Colloquially known as "Bread and Cheese Day," the holiday's centerpiece was the handing out of bread and cheese, as the Queen ordered this to be done to insure her First Nations children did not go hungry on her birthday in 1860. Although the royal funding for this stopped in 1901 due to the Queen's death, the Six Nations Confederacy and later elected councils continued to pay for the bread and cheese handouts until 1934.[40] The holiday also included speeches and addresses by Chiefs and visiting local dignitaries from the surrounding communities. These speeches were usually about the Six Nations' role in the American Revolution, War of 1812, and generally about the Six Nations' historic connection and loyalty to the British Crown. For Six Nations people, these speeches demonstrated the sacrifice of their forefathers and the obligations this sacrifice demanded from the British. For others, these speeches may have furthered the ideas of pro-British militarism within the Grand River community.[41] This would have been especially true when the non-First Nations communities surrounding the Six Nations Territory began celebrating the Queen's birthday, especially after her Diamond Jubilee in 1897.[42] As noted by historian Norman Penlington, the Queen's Diamond Jubilee was used to foster a sense of Imperial unity throughout the British Dominions, including Canada. These

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[39] "Governor-General a Man of Many Titles," *The Brantford Expositor*, 9 May 1914, 1.

[40] Brian Maracle, *Back on the Rez: Finding the Way Home* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1997), 211 and LAC, RG10, Vol. 3073, File 259,449. According to Maracle, 212, Bread and Cheese Day was revived in 1982 by the Six Nations elected council and survives today.

[41] Weaver, "The Iroquois: The Grand River Reserve in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries, 1875-1945," 220 and Maracle, 211-212.

[42] Norman Penlington, *Canada and Imperialism 1896-1899* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 53.

messages of Imperial unity were mixed with messages of British and Canadian nationalism and praise of British and Canadian institutions like the military.[43] Would the voice of Six Nations alliance and nationalism be lost in this discourse of Imperial unity? For outsiders, this message may not have been understood. The 1878 Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs reported the celebration as "the Six Nations evince[ing] their high sense of the constant good faith of the Crown by showing their loyalty upon all fitting occasions, and each anniversary of their Majesty's Birthday is duly celebrated with a programme of proceedings pleasing to witness."[44]

To combat their lost voice, and to commemorate the 60th year of Queen Victoria's reign, the Chiefs of Six Nations sent her a letter of congratulations, but also a letter concerning their current political situation. Pointing again to the military assistance that Six Nations had provided for Britain when the British forces in North America were in the minority, the Chiefs argued their support had tipped the scales of power in favour of the British. By 1897, however, these scales were now tipping against them. The Chiefs continued to assure the Queen that, although they were small in number, they still held true to the alliance set forth by their forefathers and they would shed their blood again "in defence of Great Britain and our Country should circumstances require."[45] In response, the Queen thanked the "Chiefs, Warriors and People of the Six Nations for their expression of Loyalty and attachment to Her Throne and Person."[46] Similar addresses and petitions were sent by the Six Nations to Queen in 1841, 1860, and 1872, the Earl of Minto in 1899, the Earl of Gray in 1905, and the Prince of Wales in 1860 and 1909, reminding them of the historic and therefore contemporary relationship that exists between the Six Nations and the royal family.[47] Feeling they were

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[43] Penlington, 57 and 66.

[44] Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report for Six Nations Grand River, 1878.

[45] Six Nations to Queen Victoria, 14 July 1897, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2919, File 187,621.

[46] Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs to E.D. Cameron, 15 June 1897, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2919, File 187,621.

[47] Richard Pennefather to David Thorburn, 5 September 1860, LAC, RG10, Vol. 247, Part 1; Petition to the Queen and Prince Arthur 1872, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1896; Address form the Six Nations to Queen Victoria on the birth of the Prince of Wales, 1841, Ontario Archives, Allan Napier McNab Fonds, Ref Code F38, Container MU1976; Chiefs of the Six Nations to the Earl of Minto, 1899, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2959, File 205,416; Chiefs of the Six Nations to the Earl of Gray, 21 March 1905, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2959, File 205,416; and Chiefs of the Six

losing their voice, these offers of loyalty and military support for the Crown by the Six Nations were not mere lip service. These statements reflect an understanding of the obligations found within the Six Nations/British treaty relationship and pride in the Six Nations' traditional and historical military service. Their love of Queen Victoria was even expressed at the time of her death in 1901, with the Six Nations sending a formal condolence to King George VII in the Queen's memory.[48]

In 1895, two years before the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, the City of Brantford had begun celebrating the Queen's birthday with a 10,000 people gathering in Agriculture Park.[49] By 1897, these celebrations began with the opening of the newly christened Jubilee Park in front of the Brantford armouries, a parade of school children to Mohawk Park at the outskirts of the city, a bonfire on Kirby Island in the middle of the Grand River, and a musical presentation of *The Messiah* by the Brantford Musical Society.[50] In 1899, the Queen's birthday celebrations in Brantford took on more of a martial tone. Within the schools, children gave patriotic readings, sang patriotic songs, and learned about the lives of prominent men in Canada and England. With a general holiday declared at 12:00, a parade of the 2nd Dragoons and the cadets took place alongside road races and a baseball game at Mohawk Park. There were military displays, including cadet and cavalry drills along with a carnival at Agriculture Park which included a sword swallower, a Punch and Judy show, and a bicycle trick show. There were also highland dancers, bagpipers, polo matches, bicycle races, and various other games.[51] By 1900, most likely due to the Anglo-Boer War, these celebrations' martial nature grew with *The Brantford Expositor* dedicating almost its entire

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Nations to the Prince of Wales, 4 May 1909, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3121, File 329,190. In their address to the Prince of Wales in 1909, the Chiefs offered to confer an Honorary Chieftainship to him in absentia. The Prince responded that he was "glad to learn that the Six Nations are as loyal to the British cause…as their forefathers" and further stated that "should the occasion arise for the British Crown to demand the similar services from the Six Nations in the future, they [the British] would not fail to maintain worthily the glorious traditions bequeathed them by their ancestors." See Six Nations Council Minutes, 4 May 1909, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3007, File 218,222-133 and LAC, RG10, Vol. 3121, File 329,190.

[48] "Six Nations Condolence in Memory of Queen Victoria 1901," in *Six Nations Expressions of Condolence for Non-Haudenosaunee Leaders 1761-1916*, Complied by Richard W. Hill Sr. for the Deyohaha:ge: The Indigenous Knowledge Centre at Six Nations Polytechnic, Ohsweken, Grand River Territory.

[49] Gary Muir, *Brantford: A City's Century* vol. 1: 1895-1945 (Brantford: Tupuna Press, 1999), 19.

[50] Muir, 36.

[51] "The 24th in Brantford," *The Brantford Expositor*, 25 May 1899, 1.

issue on British military and Imperial heritage, with many articles dealing with the war.[52] According to Brantford novelist Sara Jeanette Duncan, these celebrations also attracted Six Nations people, whether it was for the annual lacrosse game between a Six Nations and non-Six Nations team or the more sinister alcohol.[53]

With all these activities, it is no wonder that Six Nations' Queen's birthday celebrations had to expand in size. Not only would this keep Six Nations people within the Territory to learn about their relationship with the British Crown, it would also be easier to control the liquor traffic on the Territory, a concern noticed by local missionaries during the Queen's birthday celebrations in 1872.[54] Although foot races were already apart of the Six Nations Queen's Birthday celebrations as early as 1872,[55] to keep their celebration's separate, the Six Nations planning committee started offering $60.00 in prizes for sporting activities in 1889.[56] Throughout 1897 to 1903, these sporting activities included a half mile race, one mile race, 100 yard race, 200 yard race, boys half mile race, boys 200 yard race, trotting race, archery, throwing weight, running two hops and a jump, standing two hops and a jump, run and jump, baseball games, horse races, and lacrosse games.[57] This may have kept some Six Nations people from leaving their Territory to attend the Queen's birthday celebrations in the non-Six Nations community, but it did not stop the growing influence of martial displays within the Six Nations Territory at Grand River.

8.3 Military Displays of Six Nations Soldiers

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[52] "Queens Birthday Celebration A Glorious 24th," *The Brantford Expositor*, 23 May 1900, 1.

[53] Sara Jeanette Duncan, *The Imperialist* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990 [1904]), 7 and 11. She goes on to say that the bars of Brantford were usually full with wagons hitched three abreast.

[54] Report of Rev. Roberts, 24 May 1872, *New England Company Reports 1871-1872*, 312.

[55] Report of Rev. Roberts, 24 May 1872, *New England Company Reports 1871-1872*, 312.

[56] A. Dingham to the Six Nations Planning Committee, 18 May 1889, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2418, File 86,139.

[57] List of Prizes for Races and Games, 31 May 1897, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2418, File 86,139 and List of Prizes for Races and Games, 1903, LAC, RG10, 3073, File 259,449.

With the growing popularity of militia participation among the men of Six Nations, it was not long before the Six Nations companies of the 37th Haldimand Rifles themselves would become a display for non-First Nations audiences. The novelty of Six Nations soldiers can be understood in the racial make-up of the Canadian military pre-1914. For most people of colour in Canada, participation in the Canadian military was seen something reserved for only white people of Euro-Canadian descent.[58] This privileging of non-First Nations enlistment meant that First Nations participation in the Canadian military in itself was a spectacle. For First Nations people, the continuing disruptions of their culture, whether from the loss of hunting or more direct impositions, like residential schools, confused and rebranded what it meant to be a "man" in First Nations culture and replaced it with Euro-Canadian liberal, individualistic, and Protestant ideas of manhood.[59] These disruptions, the privileging enlistment, and a twisting of traditional understandings of the protector and warriors roles, may have attributed to the desire of First Nations men to enlist in Canada's military.[60]

Images of what First Nations people were supposed to be to non-First Nations audiences also affected the reasons First Nations people wanted to enlist. Again, between the end of the War of 1812 to 1914, the roles of First Nations people, in the eyes of non-First Nations people, were changing, with women taking on the binary roles of "squaw" or "princess," and men either being old wise chiefs, cunning warriors, or noble or ignoble savages.[61] Also, the constructed idea of what First Nations warriors from the War of 1812 were well formed in the minds of the non-First Nations audience and contradicted their idea of an ideal soldier.

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[58] Scott R. Sheffield, "Indifference, Difference, and Assimilation: Aboriginal People in Canadian Military Practice," in *Aboriginal People and the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives*, edited by P. Whitney Lackenbauer, and Craig Leslie Mantle (Kingston: Canadian Military Academy Press, 2007), 61.

[59] Niigaanwewidan James Sinclair, "After and Towards: A Dialogue of the Future of Indigenous Masculinities," in *Masculindians: Conversations about Indigenous Manhood*, edited by Sam McKegney (East Lansing: Michigan University Press, 2014), 255.

[60] Kimberly Minor, "Material of Masculinity: The 1832 and 1834 Portraits of Mato-Tope, Mandan Chief," and Allison Piche, "Imprisonment and Indigenous Masculinity: Contesting Hegemonic Masculinity in a Toxic Environment," in *Indigenous Men and Masculinities: Legacies, Identities, Regeneration*, 99, 106, 108, and 200.

[61] Lisa Tatonetti, "'Tales of Burning Love': Female Masculinity in Contemporary First Nations Literature," in *Indigenous Men and Masculinities: Legacies, Identities, Regeneration*, edited by Robert Alexander Inness and Kim Anderson (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015), 140.

The undisciplined, unorganized, animalistic, fierce, and inability to observe proper wartime codes of conduct First Nations soldier was not what non-First Nations people were looking for in their ideal soldier. [62] What was understood, however, was that the image of First Nations "warriors," in feathers, bone chokers, medicine pouches, and bead embroidery attracted historical and contemporary audiences.[63]

As can be seen during the loyalist celebrations, the culture found in post-War of 1812 Canada allowed space for the Six Nations to retell their wartime and colonial narratives to a non-First Nations audience,[64] including stories of their military participation on behalf of the British Crown. Since many non-First Nations people used their past military participation to garner political favour in colonial Canada,[65] it is not surprising that the non-Six Nations population began to see a spot for Six Nations people in the exclusive ranks of the Canadian military. This participation, however, was isolated to only a few First Nations communities, making First Nations people in uniform a novelty.[66]

The uniform itself was also a double-edged sword for First Nations people. Many in the Canadian military saw the military as a place to promote the assimilation of First Nations people. Whether it be through the forcing of First Nations people to participate in the military in the hopes that they would conform to the Euro-Canadian military standard or that just by submerging them in non-segregated units, they would learn and imitate non-First Nations behavior, military authorities believed that through the military system, the "Indian problem" could be eliminated.[67] The uniform also took the "savagery" out of the First Nations recruit. As noted by cultural studies scholar Paul Fussell, uniforms present a picture of a person that

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[62] Cecilia Morgan, "Gender, Loyalty, and Virtue in a Colonial Context: The War of 1812 and its Aftermath in Upper Canada," in *Gender, War and Politics: Transatlantic Perspectives, 1775-1830*, edited by Karen Hagmann, Gisela Mettele, and Jane Randall (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 313.

[63] Gail Gutherie Valaskakis, "Rights and Warriors: Media Memories of Oka," in *Indian Country: Essays on Contemporary First Nations Culture* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2005), 42.

[64] Morgan, 319.

[65] Morgan, 317.

[66] Timothy C. Winegard, *For King and Kanata: Canadian Indians and the First World War* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), 35.

[67] Sheffield, 60.

is clean, has a job, is respected, and can be trusted.[68] Uniforms are not only meant to impress, they tell the viewer that the person wearing it is serious and controlled.[69] By placing First Nations people in them, it pacified the stereotypical image of the savage warrior and tamed the image of First Nations militaries making them virtuous, aesthetically pleasing, and powerful, but based in the Euro-Canadian value of efficiency.[70]

Therefore, officials and the general public took interest in the fact that the Six Nations were enlisting and willing being put into uniform. Beginning in his 1893 sessional and annual reports to the Department of Indian Affairs, Superintendent E.D. Cameron, took pride in announcing to his superiors that two companies of the Haldimand Rifles were Six Nations volunteers. Throughout 1900 to 1904, Cameron charted the growth of Six Nations involvement with the Haldimand Rifles ranging from three companies in 1900 to four companies in 1902-1904.[71] Other Canadian officials and civic elites were also willing to put the Six Nations military participation on display.

The speech given by Frederick Loft at the Canadian Military Institute in 1909 can be viewed as such a display. Loft, a Six Nations militia officer in Toronto, had spent three years with the Haldimand Rifles before moving to Toronto where he worked as an accountant at the Toronto asylum. Invited to speak at the Institute by honourary Chief of the Six Nations, Lt. Col. William Hamilton Merritt, the expertise accredited to Loft before his talk, "Militarism among the Indians of Yesterday and To-day" to the institute was not that he was a First Nations officer in the Canadian militia, but instead he was "a member of the Six Nations."[72]

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[68] Paul Fussell, *Uniforms: Why We are What We Wear* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002), 3, 4, 34, and 106

[69] Fussell, 4 and 34.

[70] Fussell, 117-118.

[71] E.D. Cameron's Sessional and Annual Reports in *Six Nations of the Grand River, Sessional Papers, Annual Reports 1862-1899*, Brantford Public Library Local Reading Room. Although the title of this document says it only contains sessional and annual reports until 1899, it actually contains the reports of Superintendent E.D. Cameron and Gordon J. Smith, who would replace Cameron 1906. Oddly, Smith does not note any Six Nations participation in the 37th Haldimand Rifles. Considering that Six Nations participation in the Haldimand Rifles continued to grow in the years before 1914, this omission seems odd, unless Six Nations participation had become commonplace and Smith felt he did not need to report it.

[72] Loft, 37.

As can be seen in the comments noted in the article by the members of the Military Institute, they were not interested in discussing current enlistment of Six Nations in the Haldimand Rifles, but instead wanted to see a Six Nations militia officer and discuss the Six Nations as a long past aspect of Canadian history.[73] Loft was there as spectacle, not as an active participant in the conversation about Six Nations militarism.

Canadian officials were petitioned to provide displays of Six Nations people in the military. While serving as commanding officer of the Haldimand Rifles, Col. Andrew Thompson received a letter from the Royal Military Tournament in England in 1898 requesting "a party of Red Indians."[74] Hoping for this to be an "'Imperial' attraction" the organizer was aware that Thompson had a company of them under his command and requested "twenty or forty, mounted if possible, who could give performances of 'First Nations' local colouring."[75] Although it seems this request was turned down by Canadian military authorities, Thompson seems to have tried to make this trip happen and "procure the Red Indians" along with some other "aboriginal articles" for display.[76] For local audiences, these types of displays would have been easier with local histories claiming that the 37th Haldimand Rifles all Six Nations band was not only a local favorite, but even famous throughout the United States.[77] These histories also note that partway through their shows, the band lost their uniforms and dressed in Wild West-styled First Nations costumes.[78]

At other times, the Six Nations used and displayed their military and First Nations identities for their own political purposes. This can best be seen through the members of the Haldimand Rifles who noted their place in the military when signing official documents. Building on the ideas of historian Cecilia Morgan, not only could military ranks and

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[73] William Hamilton Merritt and E.M Chadwick as cited in Loft, 50-52.

[74] Royal Military Tournament to A.T. Thompson, 26 February 1898, Ruthven Park National Historic Site.

[75] Royal Military Tournament to A.T. Thompson, 26 February 1898, Ruthven Park National Historic Site.

[76] Royal Military Tournament to A.T. Thompson, 5 April 1898, Ruthven Park National Historic Site.

[77] Robin S. Kerr, "Military History of Seneca Township," Village of York Scrap Book, Haldimand County Archives and *The Township of Seneca History* (Seneca, ON: Seneca Centennial Historical Committee, 1967), 52.

[78] Robin S. Kerr and *The Township of Seneca History*, 52.

participation be used to garner political and other favor, but for Six Nations people, the use of military ranks and participation could be used to challenge and remind colonial authorities of past military service and agreements the Six Nations had with British, and not Canadian, authorities.[79] One such example occurred while Six Nations men were at summer training with the Haldimand Rifles at Niagara-on-the-Lake. While visiting the Niagara Historical Society's Museum in 1898, at least seventy Six Nations men from the Haldimand Rifles signed the museum's guest book using full names, ranks and even which company they served in.[80] As noted by historian Michelle Hamilton, this would be repeated by other Six Nations visitors in the military throughout 1900, 1902, and 1909.[81] Exactly why these men did this is unknown. A case can be made, however, that similar to other times when Six Nations interacted with the Ontario Historical Society, these men did this to remind others who viewed the guest book of the Six Nations continued military support of the British, even in times of peace.

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[79] Morgan, 317 and 319.

[80] Hamilton, 127 and Niagara Historical Society Visitor Book, 1898, Niagara Historical Society Collections, The University of Western Ontario Archives and Research Collection Centre.

[81] Hamilton, 127.

Chapter 9: The First World War

In August 1914, the people of Brantford, Brant County, and Six Nations had been preparing for a week-long celebration beginning on the 9th.[1] Brantford's Old Home Week promoted the history and current prosperity of the area, with a "Made in Brantford Industrial Exhibition," featuring the many locally made agricultural and manufactured items.[2] Hoping to promote the return of former citizens and the area's First Nations history, reduced train fares were offered, and leaflets portraying a "Wild West" styled First Nations person with the slogan "back to the wigwam" was produced.[3] What organizers were not prepared for was a declaration of war on the 6th.

Figure 7: Branford "Old Home Week" Advertisement, Copyright of The Great War Centenary Association Brantford, Brant County, Six Nations

[1] Robert Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 35 and Barbara M. Wilson ed., *Ontario and the First World War 1914-1918: A Collection of Documents* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1977), xvii.

[2] "Made in Brantford Industrial Exhibition Centre of Attraction," *The Brantford Expositor*, 11 August 1914, 14.

[3] Advertisement for Brantford's Old Home Week, Great War Centenary Association Brantford, Brant County, Six Nations (http://www.doingourbit.ca/old-home-week).

Immediately the peaceful celebration took on a military tone. Flags of British allies were added to the official flag display and a military tattoo, which included local cadets and "the recruits accepted for the Brantford section of the Canadian contingent" was hastily organized.[4] During the opening of Old Home Week at the Brantford Armouries, the local militia regiment, the 38th Dufferin Rifles, recruited and drilled amongst the "Made in Brantford" exhibition.[5] Thus began the recruiting effort in Brantford.

By war's end, 430,000 Canadians had enlisted and served in the armed forces, 4,000 of which were First Nations.[6] 325 of these First Nations soldiers came from the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory.[7] Early in the war, until the creation of the 114th Battalion in 1915, most Six Nations men had to enlist at various recruiting stations and units outside their community. By leaving the enlistment process to local recruitment offices, as authorized by Canada's Minister of Militia, Sam Hughes, it was up to individual recruiters if they wanted First Nations people within their unit's ranks.[8] Although the official response of Canada's military was there was no colour barrier when it came to enlisting, the Canadian Militia Council, an advisory board to the Canadian militia, believed there should be due to concerns over the Germans not extending the "civilities of combat" to colonial troops. This position, however, was never made public to the authorities doing the recruiting.[9] Recruiters

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[4] "Recognizing Allies," *The Brantford Expositor*, 6 August 1914, 10; "Made in Brantford Industrial Exhibition Centre of Attraction," *The Brantford Expositor*, 11 August 1914, 14; and "Feature for Tattoo – Old Cadet Corps and Active Service Contingent Will Parade Tonight," *The Brantford Expositor*, 14 August 1914, 3.

[5] "Made in Brantford – Industrial Exhibition Centre of Attraction," *The Brantford Expositor*, 11 August 1914, 14.

[6] Tim Cook, *At the Sharp End: Canadians Fighting the Great War* (Toronto: Viking, 2007), 3; L. James Dempsey, "Problems of Western Canada Indian War Veterans after World War One," *Native Studies Review* 5, 2 (1989): 1; and Robert J. Talbot, "'It Would Be Best to Leave Us Alone': First Nations Responses to the Canadian War Effort, 1914-18," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 45, 1 (2011): 9.

[7] "Recruitment" Great War Centenary Association Brantford, Brant County, Six Nations (http://www.doingourbit.ca/recruitment).

[8] Scott R. Sheffield, "Indifference, Difference, and Assimilation: Aboriginal People in Canadian Military Practice, 1900-1945," in *Aboriginal People and the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives*, edited by P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Craig Leslie Mantle (Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007), 61.

[9] James W. St. G. Walker, "Race and Recruitment in World War I: Enlistment of the Visible Minorities in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *Canadian Historical Review* 70, 1 (1989): 7 and 4.

telegrammed Hughes to clarify this position, with Hughes giving different answers to different recruiters. Recruiters in 1914, like those in military District 1 (London, Ontario) were allowed to recruit First Nations people, while recruiters in Military District 2 (Central Ontario), were not allowed to recruit First Nations people in 1915.[10] This confusion, and with their past and current military participation being accepted by the non-Six Nations community, Six Nations men were able to enlist while other First Nations people, like the group from Cape Croker, applied and were rejected from to four separate recruitment stations.[11] By war's end, however, many First Nations communities had contributed men, material, and funds to the war effort with some surpassing the rates set by their non-First Nations counterparts.

9.1 Traditional Six Nations Responses to War

The colour barrier in the Canadian armed forces meant that the recruitment and enlistment of Six Nations people in the early stages of the First World War were not as organized as in non-First Nations communities. Further complicating this enlistment, the Six Nations Chiefs at Grand River never declared war. As a separate national entity, with existing treaties with the British Crown, the Six Nations Confederacy Council, as they had during the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and other colonial conflicts, kept their Peace (Civil) Council in power during the war, reminding their people to keep their minds to peace, but also allowing them to participate in the war as they saw fit. Traditionally, the Civil Chiefs and the clan mothers declared war and appointed war Chiefs to guide the Six Nations through the war.[12] In this way, Peace Chiefs did not go to war. If they did, they had to hand over their leadership

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[10] Richard Holt, "First Nations Soldiers in the Great War," *Native Studies Review* 22, 1 and 2 (2013): 144 and 145.

[11] St. G. Walker, 5.

[12] Lloyd King, "114th Regiment in the Great War" (Unpublished speech in the Woodland Cultural Centre's Warrior Files), 1; Wilson, cxi; Susan Marie Hill, "The Clay We Are Made Of: An Examination of the Haudenosaunee Land Tenure on the Grand River Territory" (Ph.D. diss., Trent University, 2006), 145; and A.A. Goldenweiser, "On Iroquois Work 1912," in *Summary Report of the Geological Survey Branch of the Canadian Department of Mines*, 1912 (1914), 468. According to Thomas A. Britten, *American Indians in World War I: At Home and at War* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 62, the Oneida and Onondaga in the United States were the only Nations within the Six Nations to formally declare war on Germany.

titles to their clan mothers for the duration of the conflict.[13] The Council's obligation to keep their people's minds at peace,[14] and the non-declaration of war explains why Chief J.S. Johnson's application to be given the title of War Chief before he went overseas was rejected by the Council in 1916.[15]

Although the Peace Chiefs tried to keep their peoples' minds on peace, the war prompted many First Nations people to revive their traditional ceremonies regarding war. For some First Nations people, these ceremonies had either lost their prominence or had gone dormant during the early twentieth-century.[16] By participating in their ceremonies and continuing to participate in the military from the end of the War of 1812 to 1914, the Six Nations did not have to revive these traditions. Even the outbreak of war was predicted by traditional Six Nations people. In her 1972 book, Six Nations author Alma Greene recounts an incident at Grand River in early 1914 where an apparition of a headless soldier appeared to a school teacher and her cousin on their way home. After consulting with a traditional knowledge holder, he predicted that this was a sign of coming conflict. The First World War was declared later that year.[17] Greene further recounts a story of 114th soldiers being visited by a

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[13] Tom Porter, "Traditions and Customs of the Six Nations" in *Pathways to Self Determination*, edited by Leroy Littlebear, Menno Bolt, J. Anthony Lang (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 21. There seems to be some discrepancies on how war chiefs were selected and what their function was. Fredrick Onondeyoh Loft, "Militarism Among the Indians of Yesterday and To-day," in *Selected Papers from the Canadian Military Institute* (1909): 39 and Edward M. Chadwick, *The People of the Longhouse* (Toronto: Church of England, 1897, 43, claim that a War Chief assumed their position by popular support. Robert S. Allen, *His Majesty's Indian Allies: British Indian Policy in the Defence of Canada, 1774-1815* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992), 14, claims that War Chiefs were selected by clan mothers similar to Peace Chiefs. In their report to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, Paul Williams and Curtis Nelson, "Kaswentha" in *For Seven Generations: An Information of Legacy for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, CD-ROM (Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, 1997), debate whether "warriors" and their leaders were a separate classification of people within Six Nations society similar to that as "Peace Chiefs." Chadwick, 43, goes as far to say that the position of war chief was no longer in use by the Six Nations and the closest thing the Six Nations had to a war chief currently were Six Nations officers who were serving in the Canadian army.

[14] This obligation can be found in the Six Nations Great Law of Peace. See John Arthur Gibson *Concerning the League: The Iroquois League Tradition as Dictated on Onondaga by John Arthur Gibson*, edited and translated by Hanni Woodbury, Reg Henry, and Harry Webster (based on the manuscript of A.A. Goldenweiser) (Winnipeg: Memoir 9 of Algonquin and Iroquois Linguistics, 1992) for more on this obligation.

[15] Six Nations Council Minutes, 3 May 1916, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1740, File 63-32 Part 6.

[16] Britten, 132.

[17] Alma Greene, *Forbidden Voice: Reflections of a Mohawk Indian* (London: Hamlyn Publishing Group, 1972), 75.

spirit while training at the fairgrounds in Ohsweken. Although the men were afraid and chased it, their officers knew what it was and ordered their men not to shoot at it, fearing repercussions.[18] These stories show that within the Grand River Territory, Six Nations traditional culture was still understood by Six Nations people, officers, and soldiers leading up to and during the First World War.

First Nations soldiers used the war to reconnect to their traditional ways. Historian Eric Story chronicles the ways First Nations soldiers of the First World War, especially Mike Mountain Horse (Blood) and Francis Pegahmagabow (Ojibwa), believed that their enlistment fulfilled the traditional warrior roles of their people. They used war songs, praying to the sun, and medicine bags for their protection overseas.[19] These soldiers revived these practices and ideas for themselves and their communities, with many communities reviving and performing ceremonies for their soldiers before and while they were overseas.[20] In this way, the war counteracted the assimilation programs of the federal government. The war revived these cultural traditions for the home front and also created a space where soldiers could perform these rituals away from the prying eyes of the Canadian government.[21] These rituals also protected the First Nations soldier from the assimilative forces found in First World War and military culture.[22] These traditions and rituals continued for First Nations soldiers into the present day, with historian Tom Holm noting that many Vietnam veterans used prayers, songs, traditional medicines, and visions of their ancestors or spirit animals as a way to survive frontline service and memories of combat.[23]

Other First Nations soldiers enlisted for traditional reasons. As noted by historian L. James Dempsey, despite the best efforts of government agents and missionaries, many aspects of

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[18] Alma Greene, *Tales of the Mohawks* (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Son, 1975), 43.

[19] Eric Story, "'The Awakening Has Come': Canadian First Nations in the Great War Era, 1914-1932," *Canadian Military History* 24, 2 (2015): 14-16 and 23-25.

[20] Story, 21 and *Forgotten Warriors*, Prod. Jan Todd, 51 mins., National Film Board of Canada, 1997.

[21] Story, 21 and 23.

[22] Story, 20 and Tom Holm, *Strong Hearts, Wounded Souls: First Nations American Veterans of the Vietnam War* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 9.

[23] Holm, 166-168.

traditional First Nations culture survived well into 1914.[24] In his analysis, First Nations people on the Canadian prairies had three main reasons for enlisting in the Canadian armed forces in World War One: the survival of their "warrior" traditions,[25] their loyalty to the British Crown through their treaties, and their want for adventure.[26] Dempsey further claims that later in the war, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Duncan Campbell Scott, used these reasons to aid in First Nations recruitment.[27]

Other authors have lumped Dempsey's reasons into general statements about why all, and not just First Nations people, enlisted. Loyalty, for First Nations soldiers, is found in their treaty agreements and historical ties to the Crown, [28] and not based on duty and patriotism as subjects of the British Crown.[29] As will be seen, however, through forces like schools and popular culture found outside of First Nations traditional culture,[30] some First Nations people enlisted to serve the empire outside of their community's traditional frameworks.

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[24] L. James Dempsey, *Warriors of the King: Prairie Indians in World War One* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1999), 15.

[25] Dempsey, like many other scholars, never defines what he means by 'warrior.' Scholars often misuse the term to mean a military or martial tradition. As can be seen in chapter 2, for Indigenous cultures, the term warrior encompasses more than just military service and includes other aspects that differ between Indigenous groups.

[26] Dempsey, *Warriors of the King*, vii and 10.

[27] Dempsey, *Warriors of the King*, 16.

[28] Janice Summerby, *Native Soldiers, Foreign Battlefields* (Ottawa: Veterans Affairs Canada, 2005), 8; L. James Dempsey "The Indians and World War One," *Alberta History* 31, 3 (1983): 34; and *Warriors of the King*, vii and 46. Although about the Second World War, Robert Alexander Innes, ""I'm on Home Ground Now, I'm Safe': Saskatchewan Aboriginal Veterans in the Immediate Postwar Years, 1945-1946" in Aboriginal Peoples and Military Participation: Canadian and International Perspectives, edited by P. Whitney Lackenbauer, R. Scott Sheffield, and Craig Leslie Mantle (Kingston, ON: Defence Academy Press, 2007): 41, also notes First Nations loyalty to the British Crown as a reason for enlisting.

[29] A. Fortescue Duguid, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War* vol.1: From the Outbreak of the War to the Formation of the Canadian Corps August 1914-September 1915 (Ottawa: Printer of the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1938), 8 and Dennis Winter, *Deaths Men: Soldiers of the Great War* (London: Penguin Books, 1978), 32.

[30] Desmond Morton, *When Your Number's Up: The Canadian Soldier and the First World War* (Toronto: Random House, 1993), 52 and Terry Copp, "The Military Effort, 1914-1916," in *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honor of Robert Craig Brown*, edited by David Mackenzie (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 38.

When analyzing First Nations need for adventure, many authors believe this can also readily be found in non-First Nations culture.[31] Although non-First Nations and First Nations men alike did enlist looking for adventure, for the First Nations men, this was a means of escape from the Canadian government's paternalistic, oppressive, and stagnant reservation system.[32] This can also be seen as a reclaiming and reasserting of First Nations men's masculinity. As can be seen with Haudenosaunee scholar Richard W. Hill Sr.'s analysis of Six Nations iron workers, adventure instilled self-worth, courage, and ability to provide for their families.[33] Adventure also helped Six Nations men achieve their "warrior" status. Six Nations men had to travel across North America, sometimes "hundreds of miles to fight their enemies, both Indians and white, with legendary ferocity."[34] These men also acted as statesmen while they travelled. If they encountered new people, they would have to conduct international relations and win people to their side through oratory, with fighting being the last resort.[35] With the imposition of the reservation system and the change to large scale European-style farming in the place of traditional hunting and migration patterns, First Nations men, especially those who had internal militaristic traditions, felt emasculated; by enlisting in the war, these men tried to reclaim lost dignity and respect.[36]

For others, enlisting in the war was a way to continue their family legacy of military participation. This can best be seen with the enlistment of Cameron D. Brant,[37] a serving

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[31] A. Fortescue Duguid, 8; Winter, 32; Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 51 and 52; Summerby, 8; and Dempsey, *Warriors of the King*, 46.

[32] Dempsey, *Warriors of the King*, 10 and Ernie Dedebassige, Warrior's Symposium, held at the Woodland Cultural Centre, 14 November 1986, tape three.

[33] Richard Hill, *Skywalkers: A History of Indian Iron Workers* (Brantford: Woodland Indian Cultural Education Centre, 1987), 10 and 14.

[34] Richard Hill, 14.

[35] Richard Hill, 14.

[36] Dempsey, *Warriors of the King*, vii; Dempsey, "The Indians and World War One," 3; and Gaffen, 15.

[37] Although Cameron D. Brant is officially listed with the Department of Indian Affairs as a member of the Mississauga of New Credit, he and many others from New Credit who enlisted were also considered by their community to be members of the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory. This double consideration is due to intermarriage between the two groups and the nature of how the New Credit Territory came to be. According to George Beaver, *Mohawk Reporter: The Six Nations Columns of George Beaver* (Ohsweken: Iroquois Publishing and Craft Supply, 1997), 38, when the New Credit Territory was carved out for the Mississauga from the Grand River Territory, many of the Six Nations families who were residing in the newly created

member of the 37th Haldimand Rifles, who enlisted in the 4th Battalion three days after the declaration of war along with his cousins Frank Montour, Nathan F. Montour, and Elgin Brant. He became the second First Nations casualty of the war, the first being fellow Six Nations man, Angus Laforce, from Kahnawake who was killed in action on 22 April 1915 at the second battle of Ypres.[38] Brant was born at New Credit 12 August 1887 and was great-great-grandson of Joseph Brant from both sides of his family. Like his great-great-grandfather, Brant received a western style education at day schools in New Credit and later Hagersville high school. Following his great great grandfather yet again, upon graduation, he pursued a career as a military officer, training at Wolseley Barracks in London, Ontario. After his return to New Credit, he enlisted with 37th Haldimand Rifles in 1906, but resigned in 1912 to pursue employment in Hamilton while settling on a farm in Hagersville with his wife, Florence. After his enlistment into the 4th Battalion, Brant was promoted to Lieutenant while training at Valcartier. He was sent overseas in February 1915 at the age of 28, and was killed in action two months later at the 2nd Battle of Ypres on the 23rd or 24th of April 1915.[39]

Although seventeen local men were killed and another fifty-three were wounded at Ypres,[40] Brant marked the three communities' first casualty of the First World War. *The Brantford Expositor* printed seven articles dedicated to Brant immediately after his death. Many of these emphasized his family connection to Joseph Brant and Six Nations' historic military service to the British Crown.[41] On 4 May 1915, after the passing of a resolution by the Six

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Reserve stayed in the New Credit Territory. Further, according to Donald B. Smith, "Brant, Cameron Dee" *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* vol. 14 (http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/brant_camerron_dee_14E.html), Brant's family also intermarried with the Mississauga, with Brant's great grandfather being the son of Joseph Brant and his great grandmother being the half-sister to famed Mississauga Methodist Missionary, Rev. Peter Jones. After this marriage, the couple moved to the Mississauga Territory at the Credit River, only moving back to the Grand River Territory when the settlement of New Credit was established.

[38] Smith; Gaffen, 1; "How Mrs. Brant Received the News of Her Husbands Death," *The Brantford Expositor*, 30 April 1915, 7; and Draft Copy of the Warriors Exhibit Resource Guide, Woodland Cultural Centre, Warrior Files.

[39] Smith.

[40] "We Remember Database," The Great War Centenary Association Brantford, Brant County, Six Nations (Available at http://www.doingourbit.ca/records-search).

[41] "A Coincidence," *The Brantford Expositor*, 26 April 1915, 1; "Lt. Cameron D. Brant," *The Brantford Expositor*, 27 April 1915, 1; ""How Mrs. Brant Received the News of Her Husbands Death," *The Brantford Expositor*, 30 April 1915, 14; "Late Lieut. Brant Was Indian Chief," *The Brantford Expositor*, 1 May 1915, 13; "Resolution of Condolence," *The Brantford Expositor*, 6 May 1915, 10; "Memorial to Lieut. Brant – City and

Nations Confederacy Council, Chief A.G. Smith performed a traditional condolence ceremony for Brant and his family, emphasizing Brant's sacrifice and the alliance between the Six Nations and the British Crown.[42] On May 1, 1915, the City of Brantford and Brant County sent the Chiefs of Six Nations and Brant's family a letter of condolence, which was also printed in *The Expositor* (see appendix 1).[43]

While it is not known whether or not Brant and his cousins enlisted and fought to keep their family's tradition of fighting for British Crown, as portrayed by the press,[44] other Six Nations people traced their family's military histories to illustrate that their place during the war was in support of their treaty partners, be it the British Crown or the United States when they entered the war in 1917. Private Simon Cusick's family began fighting for the United States in the American Revolution, had two members of his family fight in the U.S. Civil War, a family member who continued his service after the Civil War fighting other First Nations groups in the American west and again in the Spanish-American War. Cusick jumped the border in 1915 and enlisted at Grand River in the 114th Battalion in the First World War.[45] Other members from Six Nations claimed that their service in the Second World War was a direct response of their family members participation in the First World War.[46] In his study of Vietnam veterans, Tom Holm found that at least 75% of his veteran interviewees enlisted

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County Will Forward Suitable Letter to Council of Six Nations," *The Brantford Expositor*, 7 May 1915, 7; and "Splendid Officer," *The Brantford Expositor*, 16 August 1915, 6.

[42] Six Nations Council Minutes 4 May 1915, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1739, File 63-32 Part 4.

[43] "Letter from local officials to the Brant family" LAC, MG 30 E 43; R1925-0-5-E**;** 3 (http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/firstworldwar/025005-3200.003.01-e.html).

[44] In press coverage of Frank Montour's military service, "V.C. for Noble Indian Officer," *The Brantford Courier*, 19 October 1916, 4, reported that Montour's father, when hearing Montour wanted to enlist in the First World War, told his son, "first of all fight for your God, then for the King and lastly your country." Although not explicitly saying whose god and country, Montour was to fight for, the article goes on to say that Montour's father was a devout Christian. Montour's father, according to this account, did not mention their family's ties to Joseph Brant. According to "Frank Weaver Montour," *The Brantford Expositor*, 26 October 1987, 19. Montour would enlist again in the Second World War.

[45] Susan Applegate Krouse, *North American Indians in the Great War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 21 and "We Remember Database," The Great War Centenary Association Brantford, Brant County, Six Nations (http://www.doingourbit.ca/records-search).

[46] Jim Powless and Mina Burnham, Warrior's Symposium, held at the Woodland Cultural Centre, 13 November 1986, Tape one.

and fought in the U.S. forces in Vietnam to continue their tribal or family's military service to the state. According to Holm,

> In several tribes the status of an Indian veteran of World War I equaled that of a warrior who fought against the whites one hundred years before. He had done the right things. He had fought well, survived, and abided by the treaties signed between his people and the Federal government; most importantly, he had taken part in those time-honored tribal traditions linked to warfare. In short, he was a warrior and, whether clad in traditional dress or in olive drab, he had reaffirmed his tribal identity.[47]

Holm continues that, "their great-grandfathers fought the Americans, their grandfathers fought the Germans in the trenches, and, most importantly, their fathers and mothers had given their all in World War II. Not only that, but all of these forebears were honoured for having done so."[48] Therefore, these veterans used these ideas to fit their military service into their traditional understandings of the place of the military in their lives.

Lastly, some Six Nations people enlisted to legitimize themselves in the eyes of the colonial state.[49] Considered minors and wards, Six Nations people in Canada and the United States used their participation in the war to show their respective colonial governments that they could compete alongside and assume the same responsibilities as their non-First Nations counterparts. As argued by Indigenous Studies scholar Scott Manning Stevens, this push to show they could act as citizens and were entitled to citizenship within the colonial state did not mean they wanted to surrender their status as First Nations people. Instead, they wanted both: the ability to act as citizens in the colonial state while also maintaining their First Nations status.[50]

9.2 The Homefront: Keeping Their Minds at Peace

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[47] Holm, 101.

[48] Holm, 102 and 167.

[49] Krouse, 176 and Holm, 101.

[50] Scott Manning Stevens, "Contested Service: The Society of the American Indian and WWI," 1 July 2015, Australia and New Zealand American Studies Association Conference, Melbourne, Australia.

Although individuals from Six Nations responded enthusiastically to the outbreak of war, the Six Nations Confederacy Council, like they had during the 1812 or any other time their services were needed, waited to be asked to by a representative of the British Crown. Until they were asked, the official response from the Six Nations Confederacy Council was neutrality, and therefore keeping their people's minds on peace. This neutrality, as demonstrated by the Six Nations participation in the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and other colonial conflicts which Six Nations people participated in leading up to the First World War, allowed for members of the Six Nations to fight as individuals without the official support of the Six Nations Council. The first test of neutrality came in November 1914, when Lt. Col. Hamilton Merritt, an honourary chief of the Six Nations, wrote the Council with a proposal to raise and equip two Six Nations companies for service overseas.[51] The Chiefs postponed a decision as it was not delivered to them in accordance to the customs of their forefathers.[52] The Council heard this proposal again from Lt. Fredrick Loft on 24 March 1915. Although Loft advocated that the chiefs accept Merritt's offer, the Chiefs declined as they "did not deem it proper that they should ask the [Canadian] government to allow them to form companies when they already have the 37th [Haldimand Rifles] Battalion on the Reserve and are standing ready to respond when called to do so by the Department of War."[53]

The rejection of Merritt's offer is viewed by many scholars as the Six Nations testing the limits of their political sovereignty in the face of the Canadian government's eroding of First Nations rights in the years leading up to the First World War.[54] When viewed alongside the Confederacy Council's rejection of the 1896 proposal for the Royal Six Nations Regiment, a more complex picture appears. Being a participant in the push, and the later rejection of the

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[51] LAC, RG10, Vol. 3015, File 218,222-178 and LAC, RG10, Vol. 3016, File 218,222-182.

[52] Six Nations Council Minutes, 3 November 1914, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1739, File 63-32 Part 4. According to Summerby, 6 and Gaffen, 20, the Six Nations were not the only First Nations group in Canada who refused to support the First World War until they were asked to by the British Crown.

[53] Six Nations Council Minutes, 24 March 1915, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1739, File 63-32 Part 4.

[54] See P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Katharine McGowen, "Competing Loyalties in a Complex Community: Enlisting the Six Nations in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," in *Aboriginal Peoples in the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives*, edited by P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Craig Leslie Mantle (Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007): 89-115.

regiment in 1896, Merritt was aware of why the Confederacy Council rejected his offer and also knew of the proper way to bring such a proposal to the Council. In a letter to the military secretary in Ottawa, Lt. Col. S.A. Stanton, Merritt altered his proposal to the equip two companies of Six Nations men for the war by making 5000 pounds of his own money available to the King of Great Britain, leaving it to royal authorities to ask the Six Nations for their participation.[55] Stanton turned down this proposal after he pointed out to Merritt the political ramifications of royal authorities asking First Nations peoples for their support in the war.[56] Although Merritt continued to hope for a special unit of First Nations soldiers for service in the war, the rejection of his offer by the Six Nations Confederacy Council was more than the Council flexing its political muscle against the Canadian government, but an acknowledgment of their traditional military past. The Six Nations knew how their traditional military operated and how it interacted and intersected with other nations in times of war.

Keeping their minds at peace while acknowledging their treaty partner, the Six Nations Confederacy Council, upon hearing of the death of the British Secretary of War, Lord Kitchener, after the sinking of the HMS Hampshire on 5 June 1916 on its way to Russia, offered the British an official condolence. As noted by Haudenosaunee scholar Richard W. Hill Sr., Kitchener had been adopted by the Six Nations and given the title Onondiye or Onondiyo, a title similar to that given to the Governor General of Canada.[57] The granting of this title showed again that the Six Nations alliance with the British Crown was not just a political, but a family structure in which Kitchener was given a similar relationship to that of the royal representative in Canada, the Governor General. After being delivered by Chief A.G. Smith in Council, copies were sent to the Department of Indian Affairs, King George V and printed in *The Brantford Expositor* (see appendix 2).[58]

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[55] Merritt, as quoted in Wilson, 172.

[56] Merritt, as quoted in Wilson, 173.

[57] Richard W. Hill Sr. <hayadaha2@aol.com> "Six Nations Condolence for Lord Kitchener," 2 January 2018, personal e-mail (accessed 2 January 2018).

[58] Charles McGibbon's summary of the Six Nations Council Minutes, 27 June 1916 and Six Nations Council Minutes, 6 June 1916, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1740, File 63-32 Part 6, and "Six Nations Condolence of Lord Kitchener," *The Brantford Expositor*, 10 June 1916, 11.

9.3 Traditional Responses of Six Nations Soldiers

The Six Nations Confederacy Council was not the only group of Six Nations people following their traditional customs during the war. Although it is hard to know exactly which and how many Six Nations soldiers enlisted due to traditional teachings, some trends can be identified.

In November 1914, the Simcoe, Ontario newspaper published a story entitled "'Sammy' the Indian Soldier."[59] The newspaper reported that Sam Hill, a Six Nations man living in the neighbouring town of Waterford, had been rejected three times due to poor eyesight before being accepted at the Simcoe recruiting station. The article continued that Hill's eyesight was perfect, but instead Hill did not know how to read the English letters in the eyesight chart. On the firing range in Simcoe, Hill proved to be a crack shot.[60] Although Hill was wounded in September 1916 and suffered shell shock,[61] his father, Edward Hill, at the age of 40, enlisted in the 114th Battalion in March 1916, joining his son at the front.[62]

For the Hills and many other Six Nations families, like Cameron Brant, their service in the military continued a family tradition. In her presentation at the Warrior's Symposium at the Woodland Culture Centre, Mina Burnham told of the influence that her relatives, Wesley Burnham's and Oliver Milton Martin's, enlistments and First World War service had on her family during both the First and Second World Wars. At the same symposium, Six Nations Second World War veteran John Powless explained that his enlistment was in part his way of following his father's enlistment in the First World War.[63] Austin Fuller, a veteran from the Mohawk community at Tyendinaga enlisted in the Second World War, knowing he was following his family's tradition of enlistment, including his great uncle, the famed Grand

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[59] "'Sammy' the Indian Soldier," *The British Canadian*, 18 November 1914, 12.

[60] "'Sammy' the Indian Soldier," *The British Canadian*, 18 November 1914, 12.

[61] "Pte. Samuel Hill on Wounded List," *The Brantford Expositor*, 25 September 1916, 7.

[62] Enlistment file for Edward Hill, Library and Archives Canada (http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B4346-S052); "Samuel Hill, Indian, Killed in Auto Crash," *The Brantford Expositor*, 5 June 1943, 1; and "Samuel Hill, *The Brantford Expositor*, 7 June 1943, 6.

[63] Jim Powless and Mina Burnham, Warrior's Symposium, held at the Woodland Cultural Centre, 13 November 1986, tape one.

River long distance runner and First World War veteran, Tom Longboat.[64] In his book, *Warriors of the King*, historian L. James Dempsey notes that after their brother Albert Mountain Horse died while overseas on 19 November 1916 due to tuberculosis, Mike and Joe Mountain Horse enlisted to avenge their brother's death and reclaim the warrior traditions of the Blood.[65] Similarly Jacob Dockstater enlisted with the United States army in the First World War as a way of representing his nation, the Oneida, in the war.[66] Another Warrior Symposium participant, Ernie Debedassige from Manitoulin Island, also stated his enlistment was his way of seeking of adventure and following his family's military tradition, especially his father's service during the First World War.[67] These family connections regarding First World War service continued with the formation of the 114th Battalion in 1915 with many fathers, sons, brothers, and other relatives enlisting in the battalion.

Other traditional Six Nations men also enlisted in the war. Chief Thomas John, another descendent of Joseph Brant, enlisted in April 1916, leaving his wife and young family for overseas service with the 114th Battalion.[68] George Buck Junior and his brother Roland Buck, although noting on their enlistment forms that they were Methodists, were also devout Longhouse practitioners. George Buck's son, Hubert Buck, became a Second World War veteran and collaborator for anthropologist Annemarie Anrod Shimony's study of conservative longhouse practitioners at Grand River.[69] Other longhouse practitioners who aided anthropologists in their studies at Grand River were also known to have enlisted in the First World War. John Arthur Gibson's sons, Simeon and John Hardie enlisted in the war in

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[64] Austin Fuller, Warrior's Symposium, held at the Woodland Cultural Centre, 14 November 1986, tape four.

[65] Dempsey, *Warriors of the King*, 56 and Story, 15.

[66] Krouse, 114.

[67] Ernie Debassige, Warrior's Symposium, held at the Woodland Cultural Centre, 14 November 1986, tape four.

[68] Letter from Lucy John and Elizabeth Doxtator to the Governor General of Canada, 9 February 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6767, File 452-15 and Military Service file of Thomas John, Library and Archives Canada (http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B4843-S012).

[69] "We Remember Database," The Great War Centenary Association Brantford, Brant County, Six Nations (http://www.doingourbit.ca/records-search); "George Buck," *The Brantford Expositor*, 24 September 1976, 18; and Annemarie Anord Shimony, *Conservatism among the Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), xxviii. Shimony also mentions that another Second World War veteran, Huron Miller as one of her traditional Six Nations informants, showing that traditional Six Nations people participated in the military with a knowledge of their traditional Six Nations military practices.

March 1916 and July 1918.[70] These men also knew their traditional ways as can be evidenced with them helping their father with his work with many anthropologists, including J.N.B. Hewitt, A.C. Parker, and A.A. Goldenweiser, and the Six Nations Confederacy Council in constructing the official history and origins of the Six Nations.[71] So well versed in their traditions, after the war, both Simeon and Hardie were employed by anthropologist William Fenton to reconstruct Goldenweiser's notes about their father's account of the formation of the league.[72] Even in his final accounting of the role First Nations people played in the First World War, Deputy Superintendent of the Department of Indian Affairs, Duncan Campbell Scott, told of the story of Alfred Styres. A Six Nations farmer, Styres was working in his fields when he heard that people in the neighbouring town of Hagersville were recruiting. According to Scott, Styres immediately made arrangements with a neighbour to look after his crops, went to Hagersville, and enlisted in the 4th Battalion.[73] What Scott left out of the story was that Styres lived with, and was likely adopted by, Six Nations Confederacy Chief Nicodemous Porter from a very young age. Not only would Styres enlist in 1914, Porter's son, Charles Porter also enlisted in 1915 leaving his wife and five children on the home front.[74] Although Charles was discharged in January 1917 after a fairly inactive time at the front due to pre-existing health issue, Styres rose to the rank of sergeant, suffered from a dangerous shrapnel wound to his hip in 1916 and, being declared unfit for service in January, was sent home in February 1917.[75]

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[70] Enlistment file of Simeon Gibson, Library and Archives Canada, (http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B3506-S017).

[71] Gibson, xii and xiii.

[72] Gibson, xiii.

[73] Duncan Campbell Scott "The Canadian Indians and the Great War" in *Canada and the Great War* vol. 3: Guarding the Channel Ports (Toronto: United Publishers of Canada, 1919), 297-298.

[74] Enlistment file of Charles Porter, Library and Archives Canada (http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B7908-S029).

[75] "Three Local Casualties," *The Brantford Expositor*, 22 June 1916, 6; "Painful Wound, *The Brantford Expositor*, 3 July 1916, 6; "Seriously Ill," *The Brantford Expositor*, 31 July 1916, 7; "Is Doing Well," *The Brantford Expositor*, 7 September 1916, 6; "Pte. Samuel Hill on Wounded List," *The Brantford Expositor*, 25 September 1916, 7; "Declared Unfit," *The Brantford Expositor*, 11 January 1917, 6; "Given Reception," *The Brantford Expositor*, 3 February 1917, 3; and "Given Reception to Indian Hero," *The Brantford Expositor*, 9 February 1917, 5.

Showing the unity of Six Nations communities, and the disregard of the U.S. and Canadian border, many Six Nations enlistees stayed true to their traditional duty to support their home communities, even if they had been struck off official band lists by the Canadian government. The Kick family was one such family. Enos and William Kick were born on the Oneida reservation in Wisconsin, but had family ties to the Grand River Territory and the Oneida of the Thames settlement outside of London, Ontario.[76] Many Wisconsin Oneida, like the Kick brothers, spent considerable time and vacationed at the Oneida of the Thames settlement.[77] At the time of their enlistments, both Albert and Enos lived at Oneida of the Thames with their parents.[78] Both brothers enlisted in 1916 and served in the same battalions until Albert was killed by a sniper in Cambrai on 1 July 1918.[79] After the war, Enos returned to the United States.

Many other First Nations and Six Nations people, like their ancestors before them, lived in between related communities. Six Nations veteran Freeman Douglas's father was a member of the Upper Cayuga at Grand River, while his mother was Oneida from the Oneida of the Thames Settlement. Before his enlistment, Douglas attended the Mohawk Institute and married a woman from Grand River. Upon returning home, Douglas applied to the Six Nations Confederacy Council at Grand River to be added to their band list. The Council granted his request.[80] This movement between related Six Nations communities was quite

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[76] Letter outlining Isaac Kick's petition to be added to the Grand River Band List after being struck off it due to his time spent at the Oneida of the Thames settlement, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2340, File 68,628; Enlistment file of Enos Kick, Library and Archives Canada (http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B5135-S006); and Enlistment file of Albert Kick, Library and Archives Canada (http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B5135-S005).

[77] Herbert S, Lewis, ed., *Oneida Lives: Long-Lost Voices of the Wisconsin Oneidas* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 189, 190, and 266.

[78] Enlistment files of Enos and Albert Kick.

[79] Krouse, 21 and Enlistment file of Albert Kick.

[80] John A. Noon, *Law and Government of the Grand River Iroquois* (New York: Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 12, 1949), 77 and 128; Enlistment file of Freeman Douglas, Library and Archives Canada (http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B2621-S047); and "We Remember Database," The Great War Centenary Association Brantford, Brant County, and Six Nations (http://www.doingourbit.ca/profile/freeman-douglas).

common; 21 cases of it were officially filed with either the Department of Indian Affairs or the Six Nations Confederacy Council between the 1880s to the end of the First World War.[81]

Although some historians do not equate First Nations participation in the military and wage economy with their participation in a traditional life pattern, it can be seen as such when traditional understandings of gendered work is applied. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Six Nations male and female work patterns happened in different physical locations: Six Nations women supported their families and worked within the settlement/clearing, while men did the same while working beyond the settlement in the forest.[82] This meant that anything that happened within the settlement or clearing was the realm of women, while anything that happened outside of the clearing was the realm of the men.[83] It is beyond the settlement, as noted by Haudenosaunee scholar Richard W. Hill Sr., that Six Nations men found their adventure and earned their livelihoods to support their families.[84] As noted by Haudenosaunee historian Deborah Doxtator, the Six Nations resettlement at Grand River did change some occupations, but many Six Nations people continued to follow these gendered patterns, with women tending to agricultural activities within the settlement while men tended to the larger agricultural fields located outside of the settlement.[85] Into the twentieth-century, these patterns of labour were still being followed with anthropologist Morris Feilich further noting that Six Nations iron working also acted as an extension of this pre-reservation social pattern of seeking adventuresome and dangerous work.[86] In this way, ironwork maintained productive and honourable work for Six Nations men that lead to the survival of

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[81] Noon, 122-134, 152, 171-172, and 177-178.

[82] Deborah Doxtator, "What Happened to the Iroquois Clans?: A Study of Clans in Three Rotinonhsyonni Communities" (Ph.D. diss., University of Western Ontario, 1996), 5.

[83] When discussing gender roles in Six Nations society, what has been stated above is a general pattern. These roles were fluid and were assigned as the community needed them.

[84] Richard Hill, 10 and 14.

[85] Doxtator, 5. Ann Eastlack Chafer, "The Status of Iroquois Women" (M.A. diss, University of Pennsylvania, 1941) in *Iroquois Women: An Anthology*, edited by Guy Spittal (Ohsweken: Iroqrafts, 1996), 83, notes women did help cultivate communal fields outside of the settlement, under the direction of a field matron. Since these fields were located outside of the settlement, however, they did not have individual ownership of the product collected from these fields as they communal clan property.

[86] The dangerous work noted by Feilich includes warfare, hunting, trapping, trading and rafting (Feilich as cited in Richard Hill, 40).

their communities.[87] These occupational roles can be found in the Six Nations participation in the Canadian military before and during the First World War, with Six Nations women tending to the settlements and Six Nations men providing for their families through their participation beyond the settlement in adventurous and dangerous occupations within the military.

[87] Morris Feilich, as cited in Richard Hill, 40.

Chapter 10: Six Nations Women and other Post-Traditional Responses to War

An examination of women's roles show that Six Nations women also continued their traditional roles within Six Nations culture when it came to their participation in the First World War. Tending to the settlement,[1] the women of Six Nations ensured their communities were fed, clothed, and that their soldiers were supplied through the Canadian Patriotic League.

As found in the formation of the league of the Iroquois, Six Nations women were given a special place within the league. Their role in the league, as dictated by Peacemaker, notes that "they will busy themselves around the fire, they being in charge of the foodstuffs. And this, especially…women will be the source of newly born persons, they being the ones who will take care of raising the children."[2] Although this line in John Arthur Gibson and A.A. Goldenweiser's version of the formation of the league of the Iroquois, dictated in 1912, seems flippant, it actually gives Six Nations women incredible power within the settlement. Women controlled future generations and foodstuffs within the settlements. Peacemaker, while giving women control over children, also gave them political power, giving them control of the election of Chiefs and giving them their titles, as "it is by means of all their suffering that people are born here on earth; and it is they who will raise them. Moreover, their blood, this is what we have, we the people, for these are our mothers, the women, and this is why the families follow according to their blood lines."[3] Women's control over the

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[1] Although most Six Nations women, at this time, supported the war effort from the settlement, one Grand River Six Nations woman, Edith Montour, enlisted with U.S. medical corps as a nurse. This active participation in the military by Six Nations women is also an accepted part of the traditional Six Nations military, with many females sacrificing themselves for their community in traditional stories (See chapter 2) and other Six Nations women actively fighting in the American Revolution and the War of 1812.

[2] John Arthur Gibson, *Concerning the League: The Iroquois League Tradition as Dictated on Onondaga by John Arthur Gibson*, edited and translated by Hanni Woodbury, Reg Henry, and Harry Webster (based on the manuscript of A.A. Goldenweiser) (Winnipeg: Memoir 9 of Algonquin and Iroquois Linguistics, 1992), 669-670.

[3] Gibson, 419.

raising of children and caring for the community is also reinforced by the Code of Handsome Lake.[4]

With this power in Six Nations society came the role of community care. It was the traditional duty of women to care for the food, visitors, and other people within the settlement.[5] They did all the planting, tending, harvesting, and processing of corn and other foodstuffs.[6] This meant that they also had to collect the fuel to ensure this processing could take place.[7] Women were in charge of preparing clothing, including the preparation of hides and furs and, if the settlement had to move, it was up to women to carry the supplies created by their labour to the new settlement under the armed guard of the men.[8] Due to their work, however, Six Nations women owned much of the settlement. They controlled the food they had processed and controlled the home, with men having to move in with their in-laws when married.[9]

Politically Six Nations women also wielded much power. They were in control of selecting their leaders.[10] Through the Six Nations political system, Six Nations women made their positions known either through the speaker of the council, by denouncing and taking the title away from a Chief if he went against the wishes of the clan mothers, or by direct intervention

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[4] According to Alison Elizabeth Norman, "Race, Gender and Colonialism: Public Life Among the Six Nations Grand River, 1899-1939" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Toronto), 37, the Code of Handsome Lake has been interpreted by some historians as a change from Six Nations women having power within Six Nations communities to forcing Six Nations women to be "good housewives", steering them from political power to "principles of domestic morality." In actuality, the code still gives women control over the economics of the settlement and children, again, giving Six Nations women control over the settlement.

[5] Minutes of the Six Nations Council, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1988, File 2902.

[6] Mary Jamison, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jamison*, edited by James E. Seaver and June Namias (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992 [1824]), 84 and 97 and William M. Beauchamp, "Iroquois Women," *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* 13, 49 (1900): 81.

[7] Jamison, 84 and Beauchamp, 81.

[8] Beauchamp, 81.

[9] Joan M. Jenson, "First Nations American Women and Agriculture: A Seneca Case Study," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multi-Cultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*, edited by Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz (London: Routledge, 1990), 53 and Lucien Carr, "On the Social and Political Position of Women Among the Huron-Iroquois Tribes," *16th and 17th Annual Reports of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum* vol. 3, 3-4 (1884): 215.

[10] Gibson, 380n1, 498n4, and 628n1 and Sally Roesch Wagner, "The Iroquois Confederacy: A First Nations American Model for Non-Sexist Men," *Changing Men: Issues in Gender, Sex and Politics*, 19 (1988) in *Iroquois Women: An Anthology*, edited by William Guy Spittal (Ohsweken, Iroqrafts, 1996), 219.

within the council meeting itself.[11] If the men of the council did not yield to the will of the women, the women could cut food supplies to the men.[12] According to Six Nations legal scholars Paul Williams and Curtis Nelson, women could also participate in the external relations of the Six Nations council, but in the main, this was handled by men as it existed outside of the settlement.[13] As noted by many authors, the political power of Six Nations women was alive and well leading up to the First World War. For example, clan mothers reprimanded Joseph Brant for trying to install a chieftainship on his son without the consent of the women. In the late 1850s and early 1860s, clan mother Nellie Martin reprimanded the Confederacy Council for rejecting the nomination of her son G.H.M. Johnson as requested by the clan mothers. During their interviews for the Whippe Report investigating the "Indian Problem" in the United States in 1889, Luther Jack and Elisa Johnson testified that the roles of women in Six Nations government were still widely known and practiced within the Tuscarora Reservation outside of Lewiston, New York State.[14]

In wartime, Six Nations women again had powerful roles that could alter how Six Nations men could fight. In his telling of the formation of the league of the Iroquois, John Arthur Gibson noted that, even before the formation of the league, women were responsible for supplying their men with the food and clothing for war. This is highlighted when Peacemaker meet Taikuhsahse, a great female chief. Peacemaker

> chides her for promoting warfare by sharing food with the warriors who cross over the river near her house when they are on the warpath. He informs her about the message of confederation, which he invites her to advance. He asks her to go forth in and easterly direction, and in three days–a time period which actually refers to three

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[11] Carr, 211; Jenson 53; Martha Champion Randle, "Iroquois Women, Then and Now," *Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 149 (1951): 171; and Judith K. Brown, "Economic Organization and the Position of Women among the Iroquois," *Ethnohistory* 17, 3-4 (1970): 154.

[12] Randle, 172 and Brown, 163.

[13] Paul Williams and Curtis Nelson, "Kaswentha" in *For Seven Generations: An Information of Legacy for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, CD-ROM (Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, 1997).

[14] Rick Monture, *We Share Our Matters: Two Centuries of Writing and Resistance at Six Nations of the Grand River* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2014), 44 and 66-67 and Testimony of Luther Jack and Elisa Johnson as cited in Robert W. Venables, "Introduction" in *The Six Nations of New York: The 1892 United States Extra Census Bulletin* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), xviii.

> years–to meet with other chiefs at a great council. He promises to see her at the council meeting. Taikuhsahse' accepts.[15]

In their account written for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People in 1997, Paul Williams and Curtis Nelson note that in other versions, Taikuhsahse or Jikonsaseh not only provided food and clothing for the warriors who visited her house, but profited from the sale of these items.[16]

In anthropological and historical studies, women had many ways of controlling whether or not the Six Nations went to war. They could argue against going to war at a council meeting, forbid others from going on the war path, especially if those people were her children, or not provide the men with the food or clothing to go to war, therefore making it impossible for war to take place.[17] Women could also dictate the terms of war. If they felt the war had been going to long, Six Nations women could order the war be stopped.[18] Women could also order men to raid their enemy's settlements for captives or revenge killings in order to replace or avenge their child lost in conflict.[19] Women were given this power over men due to their role of giving birth and raising the children who went to war.[20] It was also up to the men to ensure the village was safe for the women, meaning that unless the men were ordered by the women to war, there was always a Six Nations military presence in the settlement.[21] It is no wonder that in Six Nations culture, there was a high regard for women as opposed to men, with anthropologist J.N.B. Hewitt noting that if a woman was killed by a man, the woman's life would be valued at twenty strings of wampum, while if a man killed another man, the man's

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[15] Gibson, xxi-xxii. This is repeated on pages 91-92.

[16] Williams and Nelson.

[17] J.N.B. Hewitt, "Status of Women in Iroquois Polity Before 1784," *Annual Report of the of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the Year Ending June 30, 1932* (1933): 480; Chafer, 92; Carr, 224; and Wagner, 219 and 220.

[18] Chafer, 93 and Carolyn Niethammer, *Daughters of the Earth: The Lives and Legends of American Indian Women* (New York: Collier Books, 1977), 184.

[19] Cara E. Richards, "Matriarchy or Mistake: The Role of Iroquois Women through Time," in *Cultural Stability and Cultural Change*, edited by V.F. Kay, *Proceedings of the 1957 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*, 1957, 38 and Chafer, 93.

[20] Niethammer, 184.

[21] Randle, 171.

life was only worth ten strings of wampum in order to stop a blood feud.[22] Anthropologist William M. Beauchamp noted that in historical accounts, there is no record of Six Nations men assaulting a female prisoner, even when their people were on the war path.[23]

Leading up to the First World War, however, some traditional roles for women had changed. As noted by wife of Six Nations Indian agent K.P. Randle, Martha Champion Randle, in her study of the roles of Six Nations women in 1951, it is hard to determine the effects of cultural exchange between Six Nations and non-Six Nations community on women's roles.[24] As noted by historian Janice Forsyth, many acts, policies, and pieces of legislation had been enacted by the Canadian government, drastically changing the ways First Nations women interacted with their own and non-First Nations communities, including the 1876 *Indian Act*, 1885 pass system,[25] and residential schooling.[26] Within this environment, "some Indian women, perceiving no benefits at all from their Indian heritage, let go of their cultural ties and did their best to assimilate into white society."[27] Through schooling, whether through the day or residential school systems, First Nations women received and built onto their existing matrilineal traditions, with some, like Dr. Rose Minoka-Hill receiving her medical degree in 1899, becoming the second First Nations women to become a doctor in the United States and Edith Montour having to move to the United States in 1914 to become a nurse and later enlisting U.S. medical corps in 1917.[28] Others became active within or outside of their own communities, becoming professionals and leaders who would continue these roles into the

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[22] Hewitt, 485.

[23] Beauchamp, 81.

[24] Randle, 174.

[25] Although used in other parts of Canada to control the movements of First Nations people, there is no evidence that the system was used on the Grand River Territory.

[26] Janice Forsyth, "After the Fur Trade: First Nations Women in Canadian History, 1850-1950," *Atlantis* 29, 2 (2005), 10.

[27] Forsyth, 10.

[28] Lewis, 402n2; Norman, "Race, Gender and Colonialism" 154; and Janice Summerby, *Native Soldiers, Foreign Battlefields* (Ottawa: Veterans Affairs Canada, 2005), 17.

First World War.[29] Other women continued their traditional influence in Six Nations political, religious and economic activities. As noted by historian Joan M. Jenson,

> In spite of the disappearance of their traditional economic function, First Nations American women continued to be active in tribal organizations and to display independence and strength in arranging their lives. In addition, they kept alive older traditions which conflicted with the new ideology of private property, profit, and subordination of women to men.[30]

Jenson further notes that many of the political and religious roles of women were alive in the 1850s, as can be found in the works of ethnographers and anthropologists.[31] In Paul Williams and Curtis Nelson report to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People in 1997, they note that maps created in the late 1700s show agricultural fields were still being tended to by clans, indicating that women were still taking part in the communal harvest.[32] This is confirmed by anthropologist and archaeologist Gary Warrick and Haudenosaunee historian Susan M. Hill who have noted that communal and women-lead agriculture continued at Grand River into the 1850s.[33]

10.1 Six Nations Patriotic League

Examining the changing roles of Six Nations women from 1899 to 1939, historian Alison Norman observed that although it seemed Six Nations matrilineal society was in decline leading up to the First World War, there were many instances where Six Nations women continued their leadership roles within the community.[34] The Six Nations Patriotic League is

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[29] Norman, "Race, Gender and Colonialism," 154.

[30] Jenson, 62.

[31] Jenson, 59.

[32] Williams and Nelson.

[33] Warrick, "Six Nations Farming," Presented at the 41st Annual Meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association, Peterborough, Ontario, May 2008, 8 and 13 and Susan M. Hill, "The Clay We Are Made Of: An Examination of the Haudenosaunee Land Tenure on the Grand River Territory" (Ph.D. diss., Trent University, 2006), 114 and 300.

[34] Norman, "Race, Gender and Colonialism," 3.

one example of this leadership. In her account, Norman claims the league was founded on 5 November 1914, when Margaret Brown and Augusta Gilkison of the Brant Woman's League went to Six Nations to establish a league on the Grand River Territory. The problem with this account is that, during their trip to Six Nations, Brown and Gilkison found that the women of Six Nations were already knitting socks for their troops.[35] Although Norman concludes that if it was not for Brown and Gilkison, the Six Nations Patriotic League would probably not have formed,[36] the women of Six Nations, as they had in conflicts past, were already supplying their troops with clothing for war. As can be seen, Brown and Gilkison did not form the Six Nations Patriotic League, but can be accredited for linking it with the larger Canadian system of Patriotic Leagues. By 17 November 1914, the Six Nations Council granted the Six Nations Patriotic League $50.00 to purchase yarn to knit socks for Six Nations soldiers.[37] This grant, however, was initially rejected when it was first brought to the Council by non-Six Nations missionaries. This rejection has been viewed by some historians as evidence that the Six Nations Confederacy Council was against the war effort.[38] When understood in a traditional framework, it can be observed that the Council could not have granted the request unless it came from their own people. Since the women of Six Nations, and not non-Six Nations missionaries, had the right and power to address the council, the request had to come from the women of the Six Nations Patriotic League.[39] By 26 November, the league had produced and shipped three dozen pairs of socks overseas.[40]

Although allied with the national Patriotic League movement in Canada, the Six Nations Patriotic League, like other First Nations Patriotic Leagues, faced discrimination.[41] Due to an isolated outbreak of small pox within the Territory in 1915, knitting was suspended due to

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[35] Norman, "Race Gender and Colonialism," 224 and 225 and Alison Norman, "'In Defense of the Empire': The Six Nations of the Grand River and the Great War," in *A Sisterhood of Suffering and Service: Women and Girls of Canada and Newfoundland during the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012), 29.

[36] Alison Norman, "'In Defense of the Empire,'" 37.

[37] Six Nations Council Minutes, 17 November 1916, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3015, File 218,222-178.

[38] Alison Norman, "'In Defense of the Empire,'" 31.

[39] See LAC, RG10, Vol. 3015, File 218,222-178.

[40] Letter from Duncan Campbell Scott to M.A. Brown, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6763, File 452-5 Part 1.

[41] See Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers* (Penticton: Theytus Books, 1985), 20-22.

fears the outbreak would spread to the soldiers. Not wanting the socks to go to waste, some 54 pairs of socks were distributed throughout the Territory.[42] The ban was lifted a month later after Six Nations woman, Evelyn Davis, wrote to the Department of Indian Affairs claiming that this ban was discriminatory as there were small pox infected areas of Brantford and other communities that were still allowed to knit and ship socks. She furthered stated that the women of St. Peter's Church on the Territory had 100 pairs of socks ready to be shipped.[43]

Historians also question other times the Confederacy Council ruled against the efforts of the Six Nations Patriotic League. In December 1916, the Confederacy Council refused to grant the league more money as there was no record of Six Nations men ever receiving socks from the Council's first grant.[44] Again, if viewed within a traditional framework, this action was not the Council rejecting the work of the Patriotic League, but the Council trying to limit their involvement in the war and keeping their people's minds at peace. Keeping their traditional wartime practices alive, the Council only wanted the women to supply their troops for war. Since they had not declared war alongside Canada and Great Britain, the Council was ensuring that the women of the Patriotic League only supplied their troops, and not the troops of other nations, for war. In the fall of 1916, the Confederacy Council again denied the Patriotic League another grant fearing they may have to save their money to support their community through a famine due to crop failures.[45] Far from a politically divisive issue, the Six Nations Council was less concerned about funding the activities of the Patriotic League, but was instead concerned about the wellbeing of the entire community. Although denying this grant, and no account of socks was provided, the Council granted the league money throughout 1917 and 1918 totaling anywhere from $350-$415.[46] Not wanting to expand their wartime activities, the Six Nations Confederacy Council also refused requests for grants to

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[42] M.A. Brown to Duncan Campbell Scott, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6763, File 452-5 Part 1.

[43] Evelyn Davis to M.A. Brown, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6763, File 452-5 Part 1 and Norman, "Race Gender and Colonialism," 240.

[44] Excerpt from the Six Nations Council Minutes, 7 December 1916, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6763, File 452-5 Part 1.

[45] Norman, "Race Gender and Colonialism," 241 and Norman, "'In Defense of the Empire,'" 43.

[46] Excerpts from various Six Nations Council Minutes, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6763, File 452-5 Part 1.

other charitable pro-war organizations from surrounding communities. A delegation from the Brant and Haldimand County Patriotic Leagues made presentations to the Council in May and October 1916 respectively, asking for monetary assistance to support the dependents of their county's soldiers, some of which were from the Grand River Territory. The Council refused both requests on the grounds that it had already given similar grants to the Six Nations Patriotic League.[47] The Council further denied these requests as recruiters promised this assistance to the men of Six Nations when they enlisted. Therefore, it was not up to the Council to provide funds for this support.[48]

As with First Nations soldiers, questions remain whether these women identified as traditional or Christian. Historian Alison Norman's work states that most of these women were non-traditional people who worked and followed the lead of missionaries and non-Six Nations patriotic groups from outside of the Grand River community.[49] Unfortunately this claim is hard to substantiate and even Norman's evidence is contradictory. By Norman's own estimate, there were at least 100 Six Nations members of the Six Nations Patriotic League.[50] Although Norman presents some case studies of members of the league professing to be Christians, this identity is difficult. Norman casts doubts on this claim by quoting Haudenosaunee scholar Susan M. Hill. Hill states that some Six Nations people claimed to be Christian, but were in fact Longhouse followers.[51] Others, although being Christian, participated in and followed the rules of the Longhouse. Helen Hill, the president of the Patriotic League was a member of the Baptist church, but was also the daughter of Asa R. Hill, the secretary of the Confederacy Council. Although he agitated against the Council after the war, he still followed and represented the Council at formal events, such as during the

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[47] Excerpt from the Six Nations Council Minutes, 2 May 1916, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6762, File 452-2 Part 2 and Excerpt from the Six Nations Council Minutes, 10 October and 9 November 1916, RG10, Vol. 6762, File 452-2 Part 3, and Norman, "'In Defense of the Empire,'" 44.

[48] Six Nations Council Minutes, 2 May 1917, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1741, File 63-32 Part 7.

[49] Norman, "'In Defense of the Empire,'" 31-33 and 44.

[50] Norman, "'In Defense of the Empire,'" 37.

[51] Susan M. Hill as quoted in Norman, "Race Gender and Colonialism," 50n38.

Prince of Wales visited Brantford in 1919.[52] Sarah Jane Lottridge Johnson, the league's secretary, was the daughter of Alex Lottridge, who was employed by the Council as a path master.[53] Her brother Webley enlisted in 1915.[54] Amelia Garlow was the only child of the past speaker of the Council, Josiah Hill, a known Longhouse practitioner.[55] Although displaying disappointment over the Council's rejection of William Hamilton Merritt's offer to equip Six Nations men,[56] this does not change the fact that she came from a long established Longhouse family. Norman also states that although thirteen churches within the Grand River Territory participated in Six Nations Patriotic League, so did the Sour Springs Longhouse, further muddying the waters between the Christian/Longhouse divide.[57]

This pattern was mirrored in the United States. Supporting their men in wartime, Six Nations and other First Nations women in the United States, similar to their counterparts in Canada, knitted socks, mufflers, sweaters, and hospital garments for their soldiers and for overseas use.[58] Others expanded this charitable work and raised money to buy Liberty Bonds, ran stamp drives, and donated to the Red Cross.[59] By war's end First Nations people in the United States had purchased $25,000,000 in Liberty Bonds (roughly $75 per individual).[60]

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[52] Norman, "Race Gender and Colonialism," 227; "'In Defense of the Empire,'" 39; and LAC, Prince of Wales' visit to Canada at the Mohawks Chapel, Brantford, Ontario, 20 October 1919, PA-022253, A. Doughty.

[53] Norman, "Race Gender and Colonialism," 227.

[54] Norman, "Race Gender and Colonialism," 227 and "We Remember Database," The Great War Centenary Association Brantford, Brant County, and Six Nations (http://www.doingourbit.ca/profile/welby-lottridge). Webley was killed in action on 2 August 1917.

[55] Norman, "Race Gender and Colonialism," 227.

[56] P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Katharine McGowen, "Competing Loyalties in a Complex Community: Enlisting the Six Nations in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," in *Aboriginal Peoples in the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives*, edited by P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Craig Leslie Mantle (Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007), 100.

[57] Norman, "Race Gender and Colonialism," 232.

[58] Thomas A. Britten, *American Indians in World War I: At Home and at War* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 137.

[59] Britten, 185.

[60] Britten, 135.

North American First Nations groups also sold traditional baskets, bead work, paintings, moccasins, and other crafts to raise money for wartime charities.[61]

Following a similar pattern of support and charitable work, the women of Six Nations also made quilts for the Belgian Relief Fund and collected money through private donations and fundraisers. In September 1915, the Six Nations Patriotic League held a large rally and garden party where at least $100 was raised and sent to their ally, Queen Mary, for hospital and Red Cross purposes.[62] Further supporting their men, Six Nations women created the Brock's Ranger's Benefit Society in February 1916 to support their troops in the 114th Brock's Rangers Battalion. The benefit society was able to raise $350 through garden parties and tag sales.[63] Other fundraisers put on by the Six Nations Patriotic League included the selling of locally produced books about Six Nations history and culture, including Margaret Brown's 1916 biography of Joseph Brant and the two books produced by the unlikely pairing of the Six Nations Women's Patriotic League and the Aryan Society of the County of Brant. The league and Aryan Society published two pamphlets and sold them for fifty cents each.[64] The proceeds from these fundraisers purchased cups, helmets, khakis, silk handkerchiefs, chocolate, fruitcakes, Christmas pudding, tobacco, writing paper, clothing, jelly, and wool for knitting socks, wristlets, and mittens for their troops, refugees, and orphaned children overseas.[65]

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[61] Britten, 137 and Madelaine Christine Jacobs, "Committed to Paper: The Great War, The Indian Act, and Hybridity in Alnwick, Ontario" (M.A. diss., Queen's University, 2004), 63.

[62] Norman, "Race Gender and Colonialism," 232.

[63] Norman, "'In Defense of the Empire,'" 40.

[64] Receipt for $10.00 for the Printing of 20 booklets, 15 December 19??, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6763, File 452-5. The two pamphlets were *Report of the Aryan Society and of the Six Nation Indians Women's Patriotic League, County of Brant* (Brant Aryan Society, 1916) and *The Voice of the Knight and his Lady, St. George and Maneita. The Knight of the Holy Grail. The Red Prince of the Sunlight and the Soil and Waneita, the Queen of the North* (Brant Aryan Society, 1918)

[65] Evelyn Davis to M.A. Brown, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6763, File 452-5 Part 1; Brant Aryan Society, *Report of the Aryan Society and of the Six Nation Indians Women's Patriotic League, County of Brant*, 17; Wilson, lxxxv; Alison Norman, "'In Defense of the Empire,'" 30; and the Florence Smith Hill, "Patriotic Work of the Six Nations in World Wars I and II" in *Six Nations Indians: Yesterday and To-day* (Ohsweken: Six Nations Agricultural Society, 1942), 52.

10.2 Six Nations and Wartime Charities

The Six Nations Confederacy Council was not opposed to giving to wartime charities. In 1914, the Six Nations Chiefs offered $1500 and their warriors if needed to the Governor General of Canada, the Duke of Connaught, as a token of their alliance with the British Crown.[66] The Department of Indian Affairs, however, intercepted this offer and rejected it, advising the Council that the funds could be given to the Canadian Patriotic Fund.[67] Wanting to support their ally, Great Britain, and not Canada, the Council rejected this plan.[68] Later, in 1917, the Council sent their lawyer A.G. Chisholm, to purchase $150,000 in war bonds and, in November 1917, the Council further authorized the Department of Indian Affairs to invest all of Six Nations money, for a five year period, in Canada's Victory War Loan.[69] These requests must have been rejected by the department, as only one $50 donation appears in all of the Department of Indian Affairs accounting of wartime donations from the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory, which they claimed came from the Six Nations Patriotic League and not the Council.[70] This accounting, however, does not match the records of the Confederacy Council, which state that from the beginning of the war to October 1917, it gave about $1700.[71] This trend of donating to wartime charities continued with other First Nations groups across Canada. By March 1915, the Department of Indian Affairs had received thirty-two offers of donations from different First Nations groups, many of which were offered due to their loyalty to the British Crown and not Canada.[72] By war's end, the Department of Indian Affairs had received $44,545.46 in donations from various First Nations groups in

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[66] Excerpt from the Six Nations Council Minutes, 15 September 1914, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6762, File 452-2 Part 1 and Robert J. Talbot, "'It Would Be Best to Leave Us Alone': First Nations Responses to the Canadian War Effort, 1914-18," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 45, 1 (2011): 94.

[67] Duncan Campbell Scott to Gordon J. Smith, 21 September 1916, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6762, File 452-2 Part 1.

[68] Gordon J. Smith to Duncan Campbell Scott, 26 September, 14 and 26 October 1916, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6762, File 452-2 Part 1.

[69] Six Nations Council Minutes, 27 November 1917, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1741, File 63-32 Part 8.

[70] Ontario: Contributions to Local Patriotic, Red Cross, and other War Funds, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6762, File 452-2 Part 3.

[71] Six Nations Council Minutes, 2 May 1917, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1741, File 63-32 Part 7. This figure was calculated by the Six Nations Council in May 1917. More money could have been given or offered by the Council from this point to the end of the war.

[72] Talbot, 93.

Canada, and further rejected $8,705, believing that some groups who offered the money could not afford to give it.[73]

This was not the only time the Six Nations Confederacy Council donated their assets in aid of the war effort. In March 1917, the Council debated forming a Greater Production League to bring more agricultural land into production and provide more food for the war. The only concern for the Council was whether the league would be run by the Council or the Department of Indian Affairs. According to the Council, the people of the Grand River Territory were willing to increase their food production,

> but Chiefs, …do not want any white man to come to us and we understand that this was all made up before it was brought before the Council and we wish to say that you Chiefs it is your place to administer all the Affairs of our Reserve but the Department of Indian Affairs is gradually and surely alienating the minds of some of the members of the Six Nations by its assuming as pretending to assume absolute and entire control of all the affairs of the Six Nations which it has no equitable right to do and yet it has not hesitated to exercise the same in many instances to the great disadvantage of the Six Nations Councils and its individuals (sic).[74]

Under the direction of Chief Henry Martin, the Department of Indian Affairs handed the organization of the Six Nations Greater Production League to the Council, consisting of Chief A.G. Smith as secretary, and the directors of the Six Nations Agricultural Society. The Chiefs of the Six Nations Confederacy Council, missionaries, and the staff of the Department of Indian Affairs acted as advisors. The mandate of this league was threefold: to fill the labour shortages on Six Nations' farms, to locate unused land and to bring it into production and, finally, to assess whether Six Nations' farms could increase their production.[75] Further, the league oversaw seed distribution, ensuring that all Six Nations farmers had seed to plant in the spring.[76] Chief A.G. Smith hoped the Six Nations would respond to the Production League as enthusiastically as their soldiers had during enlistment drives.[77] Although there

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[73] L. James Dempsey, *Warriors of the King: Prairie Indians in World War One* (Regina: University of Regina Press for the Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1999), 33 and Jacobs, 66.

[74] Six Nations Council Minutes, 19 March 1919, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1742, File 63-32 Part 9.

[75] "The Six Nations Have Organized A Production League," *The Brantford Expositor*, 20 April 1917, 8.

[76] "The Six Nations Have Organized A Production League," *The Brantford Expositor*, 20 April 1917, 8.

[77] "The Six Nations Have Organized A Production League," *The Brantford Expositor*, 20 April 1917, 8.

still remained labour shortages on many Six Nations farms as late as March 1918,[78] the Greater Production League brought more land into production, including the Glebe lands that separated the city of Brantford and the Mohawk Institute, and stands in great contrast to that of First Nations groups in the Canada's prairie provinces. After the passing of an amendment of the *Indian Act* in 1917, making First Nation consent optional when expropriating land, by February 1918, over 220,000 acres of First Nations land in South Saskatchewan was brought into cultivation by non-First Nations farmers for the Greater Production Effort.[79]

10.3 The 114th Battalion

The establishment of the 114th Battalion in 1915 rallied many Six Nations people to the war effort. After the brutal losses of 1914-1915, Canadian officials committed to raising 500,000 troops for the war effort. In order to reach these numbers, the Canadian government lifted the racial barriers against First Nations people.[80] Although it is unclear whether the 114th was supposed to be an all First Nations battalion, by stationing its headquarters with the 37th Haldimand Rifles, the battalion drew many Six Nations recruits. Drawing so many Six Nations recruits, the battalion itself became similar to a Pal's battalion. Also raised in 1915, Pal's battalions were made up of people from local groups, whether they be hobbyists, like sportsmen or members of temperance leagues, or based on ethnicities, like Scottish or Irish battalions.[81] To make up the number of recruits promised by Canadian officials, the Minister of Militia, Sam Hughes, granted requests from anyone willing to recruit for a Pal's battalion.[82] With so many First Nations recruits, the 114th became known as a First Nations battalion. Consequently, the Departments of Indian Affairs and Militia began a partnership,

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[78] "Ohsweken," *The Brantford Expositor*, 23 March 1918, 17.

[79] L. James Dempsey, "Problems of Western Canadian Indian War Veterans After World War One," *Native Studies Review* 5, 2 (1989): 2.

[80] James W. St. G. Walker, "Race and Recruitment in World War I: Enlistment of the Visible Minorities in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *Canadian Historical Review* 70, 1 *(*1989): 8.

[81] Robert Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007), 82.

[82] Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada* 5th ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2007), 136.

with both groups advocating that regiments transfer their First Nations recruits to the 114th.[83] Although this was not a mandatory military order, confusion set in. Recruiters and Commanding Officers of existing units, concerned over recruitment rates, questioned whether all of their First Nations enlistees should be funneled into the 114th.[84] Following their military heritage, some Ojibwa recruits complained to their commander that they did not want to be transferred to the 114th as they did not want to serve with their traditional enemies, the Six Nations.[85]

Being a locally raised composite battalion, "A," "B," and "C" Companies were recruited out of the non-Six Nation towns of Cayuga, Dunnville and Caledonia respectively and "D" Company was recruited out of Ohsweken,[86] local traditions and lore became layered onto the battalion. As the Six Nations and many of Haldimand County's loyalist settlers had fought in the War of 1812, the official nickname of the battalion became Brock's Rangers in honour of Sir Isaac Brock, and the critical role the Six Nations played in the Battle of Queenston Heights. Although the second commander of the battalion promoted this mythology, and attached other loyalist battle honours to the battalion including the Fenian Raids and Riel Rebellion,[87] it was the unit's high First Nations recruitment that became battalions most popular feature.[88] Even the battalion's second commander, Col. Andrew Thompson, noted that the crossed tomahawks on the 114th's hat badge was a symbol of the Six Nations alliance with the British.[89] Six Nations enlistment was also not isolated to "D" Company of the battalion. As noted in the battalion's first commanding officer's, Col. E.S. Baxter's order book, Six Nations soldiers, like they had during the years prior to the First World War, were

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[83] St. G. Walker, 9.

[84] St. G. Walker, 9; Wilson, cxi; and Lackenbauer and McGowen, 102.

[85] St. G. Walker, 13 and Peter S. Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 229.

[86] Andrew Thompson, Untitled Manuscript, Ruthven Park National Historic Site, Thompson Family Papers, 4. The manuscript also notes that there was a platoon of the 114th raised in the non-Six Nations town of Jarvis.

[87] Thompson, Untitled Manuscript, 1.

[88] "Brock's Rangers Title of the 114th," *Montreal Star*, 29 March 1916, *Haldimand Advocate*, 6 April 1916 and *Grand River Sachem*, n.d., All three articles found at the Haldimand County Museum and Archives, Haldimand County Military File.

[89] Thompson, Untitled Manuscript, 1.

assigned to other companies who were having trouble recruiting enough men.[90] With so many Six Nations men enlisting in the battalion, locally it became known as the All Six Nations battalion.

In reality, the battalion was made up of Six Nations men from Grand River, St. Regis, Wahta (Gibson), and Kahnawake, as well as men from New Credit, Manitoulin Island, and other First Nations communities.[91] Andrew Thompson also noted that the battalion was also made up of white and black men from the surrounding communities.[92] Adding to their local popularity, the men of the 114th became engrained in the social fabric of the communities through billeting in local homes and training either through route marches throughout the communities or at local halls, with "D" Company being trained at the Ohsweken fairgrounds.[93] Even the commanding officers were well known in the community. E.S. Baxter was a former local Member of Parliament, while Col. Andrew T. Thompson, after taking command of the 114th on 31 October 1916 after Baxter's death, had deep roots in Haldimand County. His grandfather, David Thompson was the founder of the Indiana settlement on non-surrendered Six Nations land and leading figure in Grand River Navigation Company. Maintaining the family home in Cayuga, Ontario, Andrew Thompson was a lawyer, Member of Parliament, and ex-commander of the 37th Haldimand Rifles.[94]

Like with most composite battalions, the 114th, once it arrived in England in early November 1916, was broken up for reinforcements.[95] Local units lost comradery and local identities.[96] For First Nations soldiers who enlisted with their friends, this breaking up caused some to

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[90] Daily Order Book of Col. E.S. Baxter, Haldimand County Museum and Archives.

[91] Speech by Lloyd King, "114th Regiment in the Great War," Woodland Cultural Centre Warrior Files.

[92] Thompson, Untitled Manuscript, 5. Although Thompson was telling the truth and black men were included in the ranks of the 114th, according to St. G. Walker, 14-15n40, while commanding the 114th, Thompson turned down a proposal to incorporate black troops from Toronto due to fears their inclusion in the battalion may cause friction.

[93] Speech by Lloyd King, 3.

[94] Lackenbauer and McGowen, 109.

[95] St. G. Walker, 21 and Barbara Martindale, "Brock's Rangers Shipped Overseas Earlier than Expected," *The Sachem*, 31 October 2000, Haldimand County Museum and Archives, Haldimand County Military File.

[96] Richard D. Merritt, *Training for Armageddon: Niagara Camp in the Great War, 1914-1919* (Victoria, BC: Friesen Press, 2015), 25.

suffer from home sickness and depression.[97] This was no different for the men of the 114th. Prior to their being sent overseas to England, the men of the 114th took part in many local rituals that linked their identity to the local community. During elaborate naming ceremonies, Thompson and other non-Six Nations officers, were given Six Nations names.[98] As it had during the pre-war era, the 37th Haldimand Rifles/114th Battalion all First Nations band proved quite popular locally and overseas. Although advertised as being all First Nations, four of the thirty musicians that made up the 114th band were actually from the non-Six Nations town of Dunnville, including the band leader Milo Gillap.[99] After performing locally and at Camp Borden, the band, along with the rest of the 114th went overseas. As the rest of the battalion was being broken up for reinforcements, the band stayed intact touring England and Scotland to raise morale and as part of a publicity tour. [100]

Crowds followed the band during their tour of Glasgow. Although the band only numbered thirty men, according to the *Glasgow Daily Record*, the band grew to 160 people.[101] Of these men, all appeared in uniform except for four men known as Chiefs Clearsky, Cooke, Silversmith, and Hill who appeared in Wild West show styled costumes.[102] Although none of these men were actually chiefs, according to newspaper accounts, the band's accredited leader was Chief Clearsky.[103] Sergeant Joseph Clearsky was actually a graduate of the famed Carlisle Institute in the United States and a noted vaudeville actor.[104] During the tour, the band was presented to Mrs. Milne Home, the granddaughter of Sir William Johnson, the

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[97] Story, 20 and 21 and Evan J. Habkirk, "Militarism, Sovereignty, and Nationalism: Six Nations and the First World War" (M.A. Diss., Trent University, 2010), 126-131.

[98] "More White Men of Brock's Rangers to be Given Indian Titles," Newspaper Clipping found at the Haldimand County Museum and Archives, Haldimand Military File.

[99] King and Lorne Sorge, "Remember When: Band of 114th Brocks Rangers Only Indian Band to go Overseas," *Dunnville Chronicle*, 5 November 1980, Haldimand County Museum and Archives, Haldimand County Military File.

[100] "Edinburgh Sees Real Red Indians," *The Brantford Expositor*, 27 December 1916, 6 and "Indian Tribesmen Visited Glasgow," *The Brantford Expositor*, 28 December 1916, 3.

[101] *The Glasgow Daily Record* as quoted in and "Indian Tribesmen Visited Glasgow," *The Brantford Expositor*, 28 December 1916, 3.

[102] "Canadian Indians in Edinburgh," *The Scotsman*, 11 December 1916, 9.

[103] "Canadian Indians in Edinburgh," *The Scotsman*, 11 December 1916, 9.

[104] Norman, "Race, Gender, and Colonialism," 207-208 and 209.

brother-in-law of Joseph Brant and head of the British Indian Department before the American Revolution. Further showing their connection to the British Crown, Chief Clearsky carried a tomahawk that was claimed to be from the Battle of Queenston Heights.[105] Clearsky also conferred an Indian name on Lord Edward Fitzgerald, another relative of Johnson.[106] Although seemingly connecting Six Nations to their traditional alliance partners, this tour portrayed Six Nations men as primitive and uneducated but very much part of the British Empire. Even in his address to the band, Lord Provost Sir Thomas Dunlop stated, "these men, who not many years ago were on their own First Nations health, and had been for so many years under British rule, came here to fight for the Empire, made us feel that they were really an integral part of the Empire."[107]

Newspaper accounts of the band's tour never gave the full details of their performances, highlighting only portions that mirrored Wild West shows led by Clearsky. *The Scotsman* described Clearsky's costume in detail, and in its description of Clearsky's performance as "a rhythmical chant, accompanied himself on the piano, while one of his compatriots kept up an effective obligato on the tambourine."[108] After this tour was over, the band, like the rest of the 114th before it, would be broken up as reinforcements, with two band members, Six Nations man Lloyd Curley and Dunnville man Ray Clemo being killed in action.[109] Clearsky, however, continued touring. According to Duncan Campbell Scott, the Deputy Superintendent of the Department of Indian Affairs, "[a]t the front [Clearsky's] exceptional gifts were soon recognized, and he used to travel up and down the lines entertaining the troops with his dancing and singing. His entertainments were usually popular, and he became one of the most noted characters on the Western front."[110] After the war Clearsky continued

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[105] Canadian Indians in Edinburgh," *The Scotsman*, 11 December 1916, 9.

[106] Canadian Indians in Edinburgh," *The Scotsman*, 11 December 1916, 9.

[107] *The Glasgow Daily Record* as quoted in "Indian Tribesmen Visited Glasgow," *The Brantford Expositor*, 28 December 1916, 3.

[108] Canadian Indians in Edinburgh," *The Scotsman*, 11 December 1916, 9.

[109] Lorne Sorge, "Remember When Band of 114th Brock's Rangers Only Indian Band to go Overseas," *Dunnville Chronicle*, 5 November 1980, Haldimand County Museum and Archives, Haldimand County Military File.

[110] Norman, Race, "Gender and Colonialism," 208.

to perform while making up extravagant stories of his First World War service including one in which he was gassed while saving another soldier whose gas mask had failed, earning him a Military Medal for meritorious action.[111] Unfortunately no mention of this event or medal appear in Clearsky's military records.[112]

When sent to Camp Borden in July 1916, the 114th's local connection was maintain through newspapers. Local newspapers, no matter how small the story, reported on the 114th, including sports matches, complaints about the dust and sand, and even reported the weather conditions at the camp.[113] The local connection was not lost on the men of the 114th either. When rumours began to circulate that the 114th was not going overseas and was going to stay in Canada for the winter of 1916, many Six Nations men deserted the battalion for home. When the rumour proved not to be true, most the of men who deserted made their way back to the battalion at Camp Borden.[114] Not sure when they would see their loved ones again, many Six Nations families made their way to Camp Borden or Toronto to say goodbye to their loved ones or wave at the troop trains as they passed.[115]

One of the bigger displays showing this local connection and traditional understanding of their relationship to the British Crown, the Six Nations Patriotic League lobbied Canadian military authorities to create and present the 114th "Brock's Rangers" Battalion, especially "D" Company which was recruited, trained, and stationed within the Grand River Territory, with a hand-stitched regimental flag.[116] With over half of the battalion's recruits being from the Grand River Territory, the league hoped to present the flag at a public ceremony in

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[111] Norman, "Race, Gender and Colonialism," 218.

[112] Military record of Joseph Henry Clearsky, Library and Archives Canada (http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B1781-S044).

[113] *Haldimand Advocate*, 20 July 1916 and Barbara Martindale, "Presentation of Colors for Brock's Rangers Celebrated in 1916," *The Sachem*, 24 October 2000, both articles found at the Haldimand County Museum and Archives, Haldimand County Military File.

[114] Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great War," 298 and Dempsey, *Warriors of the King*, 65.

[115] King and Mina Burnham, Speech given at the Warriors Conference 13 November 1986, tape one.

[116] Norman, "'In Defense of the Empire,'" 40.

Caledonia. On their way overseas from Camp Borden, the 114th was presented with the flag with thousands of well-wishers in attendance.[117]

Both Six Nations and the British were represented as equals:

> The flag shows five clan symbols: the wolf, the eagle, the heron, the turtle and the bear. The turtle is situated at the base to symbolize the earth, Turtle Island. The bear clan is in homage to the first great warrior, Joseph Brant. His Mohawk name is Thayendanegea, meaning two sticks bound together, denoting strength, thus the image in the centre which represents a war shield. The six arrows signify the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, Mohawk, Cayuga, Seneca, Tuscarora, Oneida, and the Onondaga Nation. The oak leaves and acorns symbolize life and sustenance from the Creator and the white pine the symbol of the Great Tree of Peace given to the Six Nations by the Peacemaker in the creation of the Great Law. The dragon and the lion are symbols for the Crown. The white hare is unidentified but is believed to symbolize the Ojibwe who were also members of the 114th Battalion.[118]

Haudenosaunee scholar Richard W. Hill Sr. has also noted that the centre crest in the flag was the original seal of the Six Nations Confederacy Council.[119]

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[117] "Colors from Indian Women," *Mail and Empire*, 13 September 1916 and Barbara Martindale, "Presentation of Colors for Brock's Rangers Celebrated in 1916" *The Sachem*, 24 October 2000, both articles found at the Haldimand County Museum and Archives, Haldimand County Military File.

[118] Woodland Cultural Centre, museum label for the 114th Battalion Flag, Into the 20th Century Exhibit.

[119] Richard W. Hill Sr., *War Clubs and Wampum Belts: Hodinohso:ni Experiences of the War of 1812* (Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 2012), 82.

Figure 7: 114th Battalion Colors, Copyright of the Woodland Cultural Centre

The Six Nations Patriotic League also commissioned a mahogany flagpole for the flag, at the top of which was a bust of Joseph Brant modeled after a picture of Brant sent to the league by the Duke of Northumberland.[120] According to Alison Norman, to the women of the Six Nations Patriotic League and the men of the 114th Battalion, the flag represented a clear expression of their First Nations identity.[121]

Once overseas and even after the war was over, these bonds of friendship did not leave the men of the 114th. First Nations and non-First Nations men alike would stay in touch or worry

[120] "114th Battalion Colours Were Deposited," *The Brantford Expositor*, 25 May 1920, 14.

[121] Norman, "'In Defense of the Empire,'" 40.

about each other. Although most of the 114th was absorbed by the 36th Battalion,[122] some found their way to the 4th Battalion, the Royal Flying Corps, with most First Nations troops being posted to various forestry, construction, or railway battalions. The 107th "timberwolf" Battalion received most of the First Nations recruits from the 114th. Like the 114th, the 107th began recruiting in late 1915 and attracted many First Nations enlistees from the Canadian prairies. Unlike the 114th who broke up as reinforcements once overseas, the 107th changed its designation and became a Pioneer (Construction and Railway) battalion. Although made up of less than half First Nations people when it arrived in England,[123] once the 107th absorbed the First Nations men from the 114th, it began to be known as the First Nations battalion in the Canadian Expeditionary force. Unfortunately, the 107th itself was not able to stay together and, due to suffering high casualties, the 107th was broken up and redistributed amongst the engineering components of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Canadian infantry battalions in May of 1918, again scattering the men of the 114th.[124]

Men from 114th worried about their comrades in arms. In a letter home after he transferred to the Royal Flying Corps, Lt. John Moses was concerned about his brother Arnold who was serving with the 107th.[125] In May 1918, Corp. William Raithby wrote Col. Thompson about missing the days of the 114th and the "battalion spirit" Thompson had instilled in the men of the battalion. Further, Raithby noted that although men of the 114th were scattered among the Canadian Expeditionary Force, they were doing Thompson proud by appearing among the wounded. The letter went on to say that many of the ex-114thers in the 4th Battalion

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[122] Appendix 1, *Canada in the Great World War* vol. 7: Special Services, Heroic Deeds, Etc. (Toronto: United Publishers of Canada, 1921), 332.

[123] Holt, 152 and 153.

[124] Steven A. Bell, "The 107th 'Timber Wolf' Battalion at Hill 70," *Canadian Military History* 5, 1 (1996): 78 and 107th Canadian Pioneer Battalion War Diaries, Library and Archives Canada (http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayEcopies&lang=eng&rec_nbr=2004952&rec_nbr_list=2004952,4216812,4168164,4168166,4168165,1889591,4250742,4226820,4228958,2040843&title=War+diaries+-+107th+Pionneer+Battalion+%3D+Journal+de+guerre+-+107e+Bataillon+de+pionniers.&ecopy=e001465455).

[125] Lt. John Moses as quoted in Les Peate, "Lieutenant J.D. Moses, RFC," *Espirit de Corps* 7, 11 (May 200): n.p.

wondered about the status of Thompson's son after they heard about him being wounded.[126] Raithby was not the only man from the 114th to write his former commanding officer. When First Nations soldiers from the 114th were having trouble getting separation allowances or other post-war benefits, soldiers like Pte. Angus Goodleaf wrote Thompson, who petitioned the Department of Indian Affairs on their behalf.[127] This comradery would continue into the 1930s with Thompson hosting 114th Battalion reunions on his family property in Cayuga, with the reunion in 1933 attracting at least 100 men from the 114th, with festivities complete with 114th band performance that included music and 'war dances' by some of the old bandsmen.[128]

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[126] Letter from William Raithby to Andrew Thompson, 9 May 1918, Ruthven Park National Historic Site Thompson Family Papers.

[127] Lackenbauer and McGowen, 109 and Stephen Smith, "Wounded after Vimy, Kahnawake Veteran found White Privilege still Ruled Back Home," *CBC News* (http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/wounded-after-vimy-kahnawake-veteran-found-white-privilege-still-ruled-back-home-1.4071241).

[128] "114th Battalion Reunion," *The Haldimand Advocate*, 24 August 1933 and "Brock's Rangers Fourth Reunion," *The Haldimand Advocate*, 13 August 1936, Haldimand County Museum and Archives, Haldimand County Military File.

Chapter 11: Six Nations Involuntary Wartime Participation and Untraditional Responses to War

Although traditional understandings of their military drove some Six Nations enlistments, there were many forces at work that added pressure to Six Nations enlistees. During the war, many people imposed their ideas and understandings of what the people of Six Nations should be doing based on their limited understandings of Six Nations culture. Patriotic ideas, recruiters and schools worked together, skewing Six Nations traditional culture for non-Six Nations wartime needs.

11.1 Schools

On 15 February 1916, *The Brantford Expositor* ran a story about the No. 2 School on the Grand River Territory and how its sixty-three graduates enlisted.[1] The article also noted that the school children were putting on a patriotic concert, the proceeds of which were donated to the Belgian Relief Fund.[2] Although the Six Nations Confederacy Council had recently gained control of their school board and curriculum they also set it to mirror that of the province. This made the schools incubators for pro-British and pro-war lessons that may have influenced students to participate in wartime activities that went against their traditional understandings of war. These wartime lessons were added to the already patriotic lessons children learned before the war that focused on obedience and loyalty to the British Empire, with history, geography, and English classes being infused with ideals of Anglo-Protestant citizenship.[3] According to historian Kristine Alexander,

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[1] "School Section Sent Out 63 Men," *The Brantford Expositor*, 15 February 1916, 9.

[2] "School Section Sent Out 63 Men," *The Brantford Expositor*, 15 February 1916, 9.

[3] Kristine Alexander, "Education During the First World War," *Wartime Canada* (http://wartimecanada.ca/essay/learning/education-during-first-world-war (Accessed 31 July 2015) and J. Castell Hopkins, *The Province of Ontario in the War: A Record of Government and People* (Toronto: Warwick Brothers and Rutter, 1919), 30.

> [s]tudents read literary and historical accounts of brave warriors and epic battles, and they also learned about such Canadian chapters in the imperial story as Loyalism and Dominion participation in the recent South African War. Like the adventure novels and magazines that were popular with many children, Canadian textbooks often portrayed warfare (particularly when it supported the British Empire) as a glamorous and exciting pursuit.[4]

In his accounting of the province of Ontario during the war, historian J. Castell Hopkins notes that these lessons of victorious wartime became a cornerstone of provincial education. The Ontario government even produced its own textbooks to teach students about the war.[5] As noted by historian Jonathan Vance, these lessons did not stop after the war. They continued to teach school children the Victorian values of war, patriotic instruction and the value of discipline.[6] School children, like those found at the No. 2 school, also helped the war effort in other ways. School children could make bandages, knit, collect money through tag days and other events, and could work on farms or plant backyard gardens.[7]

Six Nations schools taught similar lessons. In 1915, the Brant County school inspector recommended that Six Nations schools be provided with an Imperial map case requested by the teachers. This motion was passed by the Six Nations School Board.[8] The school inspector further advised the school board to purchase the *Children's Story of the War* reader series, which the board also approved.[9] Six Nations schools also assisted the war in other ways. In 1915, the Six Nations Confederacy Council supported the establishment of home gardens for children to grow food. According to the Department of Indian Affairs Superintendent Gordon J. Smith, "the council was most sympathetic…and I believe that home gardens will be taken

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[4] Alexander.

[5] Hopkins, 30.

[6] Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), 234 and 235.

[7] Barbara M. Wilson, *Ontario and the First World War 1914-1918: A Collection of Documents* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1977), xcv, xcvii, and xcix.

[8] Alison Elizabeth Norman, "Race, Gender, and Colonialism: Public Life Among the Six Nations Grand River, 1889-1936" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto: 2010), 164.

[9] Norman, "Race, Gender, and Colonialism," 183.

up enthusiastically by the parents and children."[10] As the war dragged on food production became more of a concern. Children were recruited by the Greater Production League to help with the harvest. After noticing that many student absences in November 1916 were caused by children either staying at home to work on their family's farm, or working in the Niagara area helping bring in harvests, the Six Nations School Board passed a motion that children twelve years old and older would be exempt from school during seeding season as long as parents could prove they had work for them to do.[11]

The Mohawk Institute, although a school on the Grand River Territory, was out of the purview of the Six Nations School Board and run solely by the New England Company. Through its administrators, however, it had a clear connection to First World War. When he took over the school in 1879, principal Robert Ashton began a military styled reorganization based on his experiences as a second clerk at the Middlesex Industrial School in Feltham, England.[12] By the 1890s, the school had formed a competition drill team and an officially sanctioned cadet corps approved by the Canadian government in 1911 under Ashton's son.[13]

Many manuals for non-First Nations schools made it clear that these drills, taught to children as part of the physical education programming, instilled military style discipline into their students to make them ready for state service, with some supporters hoping that drill in schools would become a system of universal military service in Canada.[14] These military connections were firmly established in the Canadian consciousness when the Strathcona Trust was established in 1910. The trust offered endowments to schools in Canada if they had

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[10] Gordon J. Smith's Summary of Six Nations Council Minutes, 27 May 1915, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1739, File 63-32 Part 4.

[11] Report of Harry Martin (Truant Officer), November 15, 1916 and Minutes of the Six Nations School Board, 11 April 1917, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2010, File 7825-4.

[12] *Report of the New England Company 1871-1872*, 101.

[13] Two other residential schools, also operated by the Canadian government and the Anglican Church, had officially sanctioned cadet corps recognized by the Federal government. They were the Elkhorn school, in Elkhorn, Manitoba and St Paul's residential school on the Blood Reservation, in Alberta.

[14] E.B. Houghton, *Physical Culture: First Book of Exercises in Drill, Calisthenics, and Gymnastics* (Toronto: Warwick and Sons, 1886), 13, and in James L. Hughes, *Manual of Drill and Calisthenics: Containing Squad Drill Calisthenics, Free Gymnastics, Vocal Exercises, German Calisthenics, Movement Songs, The Pocket Gymnasium, and Kindergarten Games and Songs* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1879), 2, 3, and 8.

a drill team or cadet corps. Although teaching military style drill, when they published their drill manual in 1911, the trust focused on the health benefits drill could offer students instead of its overt military connections.[15] The Department of Indian Affairs also focused its drill and calisthenics program for First Nations schools on the same ideas noting that their drill manual concentrated on breathing exercises "as Indian children show a tendency towards pulmonary diseases."[16] Although promoting health benefits, the manual also noted that the exercises taught social control, "produc[ing] a working connection between the pupils' and the teacher's mind" to "assist in obtaining the attention and prompt discipline so necessary before real work can be commenced."[17] Further, as noted by historian Janice Forsyth, these exercises were tools of assimilation, used to develop physical fitness to serve the state in the form of manual labour in addition to serving as a form of military preparedness.[18]

With this lengthy experience with cadet corps and military-styled education, it is no wonder eighty-six former Mohawk Institute students and staff enlisted in the First World War, with six being killed in action.[19] Questions remain, however, whether or not students were directly recruited out of Canada's residential schools. While some historians do claim it happened,[20] Duncan Campbell Scott and the Department of Indian Affairs denounced the practice.[21] In

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[15] Strathcona Trust Executive Council, *Syllabus of Physical Exercises for Schools* (Toronto: Copp, 1911), 16.

[16] Department of Indian Affairs, *Calisthenics and Games Prescribed for Use in all Indian Schools* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1910), 3.

[17] Department of Indian Affairs, 5.

[18] Janice Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning: Sports and Games at Canadian Residential Schools," in *Indigenous Peoples and Sport: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Issues*, edited by Janice Forsyth and Audrey R. Giles (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012), 23 and 25.

[19] Mohawk Institute Honour Roll, St Paul's Her Majesty's Royal Chapel of the Mohawks and "Memorial Unveiled at Mohawk Church," *The Brantford Expositor*, 12 June 1925, 10. In the article, the *Expositor* also notes two Six Nations men, Pte. Charles Wesley Doxtator and Pte. Fredrick Doxtator, were former students of the Institute bringing the total number of staff and students who served to 88.

[20] L. James Dempsey, *Warriors of the King: Prairie Indians in World War One* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1999), 29 and *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People* vol. 1: Looking Forward, Looking Back (Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, 1996), 550.

[21] Department of Indian Affairs to William Hamilton Merritt, 26 May 1898, Vol. 2837, File 171,348 and Duncan Campbell Scott to Glen Campbell, 11 February 1916, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6766, File 452-13. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "The History, Part 1, Origins to 1939" *The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* vol. 1 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens Press, 2015), 327 notes that Duncan Campbell Scott may have reversed his decision and allowed the recruitment out of residential schools.

Warriors of the King, historian L. James Dempsey found that residential schooling, and pressure from teachers and missionaries informed the decision of many First Nations men from the Canadian prairies to enlist in the First World War.[22] Anthropologist Herbert S. Lewis found that seven interviewees from Oneida, Wisconsin, explained their boarding school education in the United States led them to enlist in the First World War.[23] Other American historians point to similar trends, with many claiming the military-style schooling in United States boarding schools lead to increased First Nations enlistment in the United States Army.[24] As noted by historian Charles M. Johnson and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, recruitment out of schools and cadet corps continued into the Second World War and Korean Conflict.[25]

11.2 Recruiters

Schooling was not the only way to sway the minds of potential Six Nations recruits. Like Merritt's offer to raise two companies of Six Nations troops, it was hoped that by using people known to the community, recruitment would be easier.

In his military history of the County of Brant following the war, local author F. Douglas Reville notes a few recruiters working on the Grand River Territory during the war including prominent people like missionaries Edwin Lee and William Arid, Six Nations Confederacy Council Chiefs A.G. Smith, H.M. Hill, and Joseph Monture, and others like Dr. Walter Davis

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[22] Dempsey, *Warriors of the King*, 20.

[23] Herbert Lewis, eds., *Oneida Lives: Long-Lost Voices of the Wisconsin Oneidas* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 151-160, 190-195, 143-144, 266, 322, and 349,

[24] Susan Applegate Krouse, *North American Indians in the Great War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 24-25; Thomas A. Britten, *American Indians in World War I: At Home and at War* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 65 and 67; and *Way of the Warrior*, Produced by Parry Loew, 53.46 Minutes, Wisconsin Public Television, 2004.

[25] Charles M. Johnson, "The Children's War: The Mobilization of Ontario Youth During the Second World War," in *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History*, edited by Roger Hall, William Westfall, and Laurel Sefton MacDowell (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988), 369 and 370 and Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "The Survivors Speak" *A Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Ottawa: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015), 197 (http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Final%20Reports/Survivors_Speak_English_Web.pdf).

and John R. Lickers.[26] Most of these recruiters held meetings and rallies which featured members of the military, ministers from local churches, and soldiers who had returned home for leaves or due to wounds like the sons of Chief A.G. Smith, or the wounded Corporal Alfred Styres.[27]

Others however, may have recruited in unethical ways. It would not have been hard for Lt. Col. E.C. Ashton and Major A. Nelles Ashton, when charged with the recruitment of a local company of the 36th Battalion from the 38th Dufferin Rifles,[28] to use their connections with the Mohawk Institute.[29] This would have been especially easy since the 38th Dufferin Rifles had access to the school's grounds through their rental agreement with the Ashtons to use a rifle range they installed on the grounds.[30] Another recruiter with close connections to Six Nations was Superintendent Gordon Smith. After being refused permission to go overseas by the Department of Indian Affairs, Smith became the second in command of the depot of the Canadian Mounted Rifles in Hamilton.[31] Military authorities asked that two Six Nations recruits be transferred out of Smith's Canadian Mounted Rifles to the 114th when the 114th was looking for First Nations soldiers to fill its ranks.[32] A preliminary survey of the Canadian Mounted Rifles nominal rolls against recruits from the Grand River Territory note two additional Six Nations men, with a potential seven more among the ranks of the Canadian

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[26] F. Douglas Reville, *History of the County of Brant* vol. 2 (Brantford: The Hurley Printing Company, 1920), 616.

[27] Dennis Winter, *Deaths Men: Soldiers of the Great War* (London: Penguin Books, 1978), 32; Lackenbauer and McGowen, "Competing Loyalties in a Complex Community: Enlisting the Six Nations in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," in *Aboriginal Peoples in the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives*, edited by P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Craig Leslie Mantle (Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007), 51, 56, 105; and "Men Who Now Enlist Will Ensure Making of A Satisfactory Peace," *The Brantford Expositor*, 10 April 1916, 8; and "Given Reception," *The Brantford Expositor*, 3 February 1917, 3.

[28] Reville, vol. 2, 465.

[29] The author completed a survey of the 36th Battalion's nominal rolls found at the Brantford Public Library Local Reading Room. Although no Grand River Six Nations people were found on the roll during this survey, a more detailed exploration may find other First Nations people who attended the Mohawk Institute.

[30] Gordon J. Smith to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, 18 November 1920, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3224, File 547,596, and Report of the Mohawk Institute, 1 April 1880, Diocese of Huron Archives, Truth and Reconciliation Files. Rev. Ashton was also the Chaplin for the Dufferin Rifles and would take the thirty dollars given to him from the Department of the Militia for the rent of the range and give it back to the Dufferin Rifles to use for the regiment.

[31] Revile, vol. 2, 601.

[32] Richard Holt, "First Nations Soldiers in the Great War," *Native Studies Review* 22, 1 and 2 (2013): 147n60.

Mounted Rifles.[33] Smith and his wife, a member of the Brant Independent Order of the Daughters of the Empire, would later be appointed as representatives of a citizen's recruiting league in Brantford and Brant County.[34]

Some recruiters were viewed with suspicion. This can best be seen in a 1916 Grand River recruitment drive lead by Charles Cooke. Cooke, born at Oka, Quebec, in 1870 to Angus and Katherine Cooke of Grand River and St. Regis respectively, was fluent in Mohawk and English. He became a clerk for the Department of Indian Affairs in 1893 after attending the Mount Elgin Institute residential school and Gravenhurst High School.[35]

In 1916, Cooke was given a new job. Working with the Department of Indian Affairs and the Department of Militia, Cooke was posted to Grand River and became a recruiter for the 114th Battalion. Cooke, made an honourary Lieutenant with full uniform, continued to be paid by the Department of Indian Affairs but received his orders from the district's military commander.[36] Beginning his recruiting mission at Grand River in February 1916, Cooke began by targeting non-traditional peoples, holding large recruitment rallies at local churches, schools, and the Six Nations Agriculture Hall.[37] Although he attracted large crowds, recruits were not forthcoming. At a rally on 10 February 1916, 400 people attended, but only three recruits enlisted.[38]

Other problems, like snow storms in February 1916, and unpaved and muddy roads during the spring thaw also hampered Cooke's recruitment.[39] Not being able to travel or have people attended his rallies meant no recruits. To combat this, Cooke began going door to door

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[33] Nominal Rolls of the Canadian Mounted Rifles, Brantford Public Library Local Reading Room and "We Remember Database," The Great War Centenary Association Brantford, Brant County, Six Nations (http://www.doingourbit.ca/records-search).

[34] Reville, vol. 2, 469.

[35] Marius Barbeau, "Charles A. Cooke, Mohawk Scholar," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96, 4 (1952): 424, 425, and 426 and P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Katharine McGowen, 103.

[36] Lackenbauer and McGowen, 103.

[37] Lackenbauer and McGowen, 104.

[38] Lackenbauer and McGowen, 104.

[39] Lackenbauer and McGowen, 104.

throughout the Grand River Territory. This did not help. Fearing that they would be pressed into service, if Cooke was spotted in a neighbourhood, eligible men headed into the forests within the Territory.[40] Cooke complained that some of the Confederacy Council Chiefs opposed his recruiting efforts. He did not give them a chance to speak at rallies and even accused some of them as being pro-German. Investigators dismissed these claims as a misunderstanding between the Chiefs, Cooke, and 114th commander Lt. Col. Baxter with the Chiefs most likely reminding their people to keep their minds on peace.[41] What is clear, however, is that when outsiders were brought into the Grand River community to recruit, they were viewed as outsider agents of the Canadian government who, like they had during the pre-war years, were acting to oppress their community.[42]

Portrayed to the outside world as a success, Cooke's recruitment drive at Grand River came to an end when Cooke was transferred by military authorities and the Department of Indian Affairs to recruit in other First Nations communities. Posted in First Nations communities in Western Ontario, Quebec, and even offering to recruit in the Canadian prairies believing they had been overlooked,[43] Cooke reported to have recruited at twenty-two different First Nations communities by June 1916, perfecting his recruitment technique.[44] Some recruiters used less than truthful statements to entice First Nations recruits to enlist. Some offered $5.00 signing bonuses and a free trip to Europe even if the war ended before the recruit was able to go overseas.[45] Others were known to entice potential recruits with the amount of support families of Six Nations soldiers would receive through the Canadian, Brant, and Haldimand Patriotic Fund.[46]

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[40] Lackenbauer and McGowen, 104.

[41] Woodland Indian Cultural Education Centre, *Warriors: A Resource Guide* (Brantford: Woodland Indian Cultural Education Centre, 1986), 19 and Lackenbauer and McGowen, 104.

[42] Summerby, 22 and Dempsey, *Warriors of the King*, 20.

[43] Barbeau, 426, Lackenbauer and McGowen, 106, and Dempsey, *Warriors of the King*, 28.

[44] James W. St. G. Walker, "Race and Recruitment in World War I: Enlistment of the Visible Minorities in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *Canadian Historical Review* 70, 1 *(*1989): 13 and "Indians Respond Splendidly to Call from Empire with Men and Money," *The Brantford Expositor*, 20 June 1916, 4.

[45] St. G. Walker, 13.

[46] Six Nations Council Minutes, 2 May 1917, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1741, File 63-32 Part 7.

Although it is hard to pinpoint what promises recruiting officers used to convince their enlistees, we do have some idea of what Cooke promised his potential recruits. While recruiting in the Mohawk communities of St. Regis, Kahnawake, and Oka for railway battalions, Cooke produced recruiting pamphlets in the Mohawk language. The pamphlets state that enlistees with the railway battalion would not have to fight as they would be removed from the front.[47] Although this claim is true, service in railway battalions did not exclude recruits from the danger of the front, as many men were killed or injured due to shelling.[48] Cooke also promised his recruits that they would be paid and their families would be taken care of just as regular soldiers.[49] This too was stretching the truth as soldiers who enlisted in railway battalions made extra money for their labour, making them ineligible for support from the Canadian Patriotic Fund.[50] Therefore it was up to the soldier to assign their extra pay over as part of a separation allowance in order to care for their families. If the recruit was uninformed about this, his family would not be supported the same as other soldiers. Cooke was not above bending the truth to boost recruitment.

In his memoirs about the 114th Battalion, Col. Andrew Thompson noted the many different methods recruiters including the use of signing bonuses.[51] According to Thompson, "[r]ecruiting was energetically and too often tactlessly conducted as uniforms and accoutrements were stimulants to feelings of superior ego in those who were invested."[52] Thompson also spared no detail in describing the various methods used to recruit the unwilling enlistee: "In addition to individual canvasing by insidious means from white feathers to the high Jacking of a third degree of the persuasive and insinuating tongue of

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[47] Recruiting Pamphlet, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6765, File 452-7.

[48] For more on railway troops in battle see Andrew Iarocci, "Sinews of War: Transportation and Supply," in *Capturing Hill 70: Canada's Forgotten Battle of the First World War*, edited by Douglas E. Delaney and Serge Marc Durflinger (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2016), 137-161.

[49] Recruiting Pamphlet, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6765, File 452-7.

[50] Desmond Morton "Supporting Soldier's Families: Separation Allowance, Assigned Pay, and the Unexpected," in *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honor of Robert Craig Brown*, edited by David Mackenzie (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 213.

[51] Thompson, Untitled Manuscript, 3.

[52] Thompson, Untitled Manuscript, 5.

flattery recruiting meetings were indulged in by the troops and suffered by civilizations."[53] Furthering his description of recruitment tactics used while recruiting the 114th, Thompson noted that potential recruits were

> Lured into hall and meeting places by the promises of free smokes and entertainment the unsuspecting and unkhakied male was either blasted as aenemic or cajoled and humored into a state of hypnotic passiveness when he could be swallowed by a boaconstrictor in the shape of a sergeant. As a matter of technique one method was about effective as the other and in most instances both were indefinite of not futile. It was a big night when some poor mortal succumbed in a moment of weakness to jibes or euphoniums; it was a big day when some conspicuous yellow belly had swapped his intestines for guts. The roll was rather fortunately no much augmented by such processes of coercion, rather by the healthy and red blooded means of voluntary enlistment from adventurous and patriotic spirits who needed no urging in answer to the call.[54]

Although Thompson notes that the best recruit is the one that does not have to be coerced into the service, he, like Cooke, continued to work closely with the Department of Indian Affairs to ensure First Nations enlistments. Thompson and Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Duncan Campbell Scott, believed that military participation assimilated First Nations people into the Canadian body politic.[55] Scott's counterpart in the United States, Cato Sells, echoed this opinion, believing that not only would their participation alongside non-First Nations soldiers aid in their assimilation, but their enlistment was proof of their desire to be American citizens.[56]

11.3 Other Non-Traditional Benefits of Enlisting

As noted by most historians and veterans alike, there were also many non-traditional reasons First Nations people enlisted. Most were tied to the economic benefits of life in Canada's

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[53] Thompson, Untitled Manuscript, 6.

[54] Thompson, Untitled Manuscript, 6.

[55] Lackenbauer and McGowen, 109.

[56] Tom Holm, *Strong Hearts Wounded Souls: Native American Veterans of the Vietnam War* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 99.

military.[57] Due to limited educational opportunities afforded them, Six Nations men often enlisted at the rank of private. A private in the Canadian Expeditionary Force made $1.10 a day - lower than a junior clerk's or an unskilled labourer's wage, but higher than the daily wage of a general farm labourer.[58] This is important as, in a survey of 202 Grand River Six Nations enlistees, history scholar Jordon Baker found that eighty-nine Six Nations enlistees were farmers while another fifty-nine were labourers.[59] On top of the daily wage, soldiers received a uniform, shelter, three meals a day, and free medical and dental care.[60] For other Six Nations enlistees, some would rise from the ranks becoming commissioned and non-commissioned officers, raising their daily pay to $3.60 a day for a lieutenant, while a non-Commissioned Officer earned $2.30.[61]

Enlisting in the Canadian military during the war also meant benefits for families through the Canadian Patriotic Fund and separation allowances.[62] Separation allowances came from the assigned pay of the soldier. If the soldier consented, they could assign a portion of their pay to their families. The Canadian Patriotic Fund (C.P.F.), however, gave money to a soldier's family or dependents from money raised locally through charitable donations.[63] Both these

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[57] Winter, 32, Desmond Morton and J.L. Granatstein, *Marching to Armageddon: Canadian and the Great War 1914-1919* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys Limited, 1989), 10; Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 50; Rutherdale, 46-47; Summerby, 22; "Canadian Indians and World War One," *Saskatchewan Indian Federated Collage Journal* 1, 1 (1984): 68; and Jim Powless, Warrior's Symposium, held at the Woodland Cultural Centre, 13 November 1986, tape one. Although about the Second World War, Robert Alexander Innes, ""I'm on Home Ground Now, I'm Safe': Saskatchewan Aboriginal Veterans in the Immediate Postwar Years, 1945-1946" in Aboriginal Peoples and Military Participation: Canadian and International Perspectives, edited by P. Whitney Lackenbauer, R. Scott Sheffield, and Craig Leslie Mantle (Kingston, ON: Defence Academy Press, 2007): 40, also notes that First Nations recruits would have enlisted for the economic benefits.

[58] Terry Copp, "The Military Effort, 1914-1916," in *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honor of Robert Craig Brown*, edited by David Mackenzie (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 58.

[59] Jordon Baker as cited in Norman, "Race, Gender and Colonialism," 201.

[60] Copp, 58; Morton and Granatstein, 50; Tim Cook, *At the Sharp End: Canadians Fighting in the Great War, 1914-1916* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2007), 28; Tim Cook, *Shock Troops: Canadians Fighting in the Great War, 1917-1918* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2008), 569; and Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 184.

[61] Copp, 58.

[62] The attraction of Separation and Dependents' allowances for First Nation soldiers and families during the Second World War are also supported by Innes, 41.

[63] According to Desmond Morton, *Fight or Pay: Soldiers' Families in the Great War* (Victoria: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 80, the Hamilton and Brantford C.P.F. began as independent charitable groups but eventually affiliated themselves with the national organization during the war.

systems, however, did not fit the complex family structures found within all First Nations communities. In order to be considered, the soldier and his wife had to be married through common law or a state recognized marriage ceremony. If they were married in a traditional First Nations marriage that was not state recognized, military, C.P.F., and Department of Indian Affairs officials could overrule or reject the soldier's application. Children could also experience problems when it came assigned pay and C.P.F. Boys received monetary support if they were under the age fourteen and girls had to be under the age sixteen. This age limit would later be raised under fifteen years for boys and under the age of seventeen for girls. Widowed parents also received a separation allowance if they could prove no other income for their household. This had to be supported by a letter from the clergy or a member of the C.P.F.[64] This money could also be suspended if the son married during the war.[65]

Other factors limited the amount of money a soldier and his family received upon their enlistment. Due to military authorities prioritizing single men for recruitment early in the war, wives had the right to refuse to let their husbands enlist. During this early recruitment period, many soldiers claimed they were single in order to enlist without their wives' permission. If this lie was told, wives and children of the soldiers could be left destitute while their husbands and fathers were overseas.[66] Also, if a soldier enlisted or was transferred to a railway battalion, their families were no longer eligible for C.P.F. support as these soldiers usually did not work on the front and made extra working pay, which could be added to their separation allowance.[67] This affected many First Nations families as First Nations recruits were funneled into railway or labour battalions later in the war.[68]

First Nations soldiers also had more administrative problems when it came to their separation allowances or C.P.F. funding. Funding could be intercepted by the Department of Indian Affairs which, through an Indian Agent or Superintendent, administered the funds to ensure

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[64] Morton, "Supporting Soldier's Families: Separation Allowance, Assigned Pay, and the Unexpected," 203.

[65] Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 236.

[66] Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 236.

[67] Morton, "Supporting Soldier's Families: Separation Allowance, Assigned Pay, and the Unexpected," 213.

[68] Duncan Campbell Scott to Eugene Fiset, 15 January 1917, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6766, File 452-13.

the money was spent wisely by the soldier's dependents.[69] The power that Indian Agents and Superintendents had over the funds of First Nations soldiers is evident in the file of Six Nations soldier Wilfred Lickers. Before heading overseas, Lickers, being recently widowed and, likely following the matrilineal traditions of the Six Nations, ensured that his daughter was cared for by his wife's family and even assigned some of his pay to a trust fund for her care.[70] While Lickers was overseas, the local Indian agent changed the terms of Lickers' assigned pay without consulting him. The agent re-assigned funds to his ex-mother-in-law, who continually made increased demands for more of Lickers' money.[71] With the passing of his father George in November 1916, Lickers petitioned the Department of Militia to change his assigned pay, assigning nothing to his ex-mother-in-law, and giving it instead to his widowed mother who was caring for the family's farm and Lickers' invalid brother.[72] Although this decision was supported by the Department of Militia, it was overruled by the Department of Indian Affairs and the Canadian Patriotic Fund Brantford Branch. Instead, they agreed that Lickers would assign more money, with a portion of his assigned pay going to his mother; a separation allowance was created to support his ex-mother-in-law.[73] Lickers protested these decisions throughout May 1917 to December 1918, but could do nothing; he was a minor under the terms of Canadian law and could not decide who his money should support.

In other cases, First Nations had to fight against the ignorance of the non-First Nations people who controlled local C.P.F. organizations. In May 1917, the Haldimand Patriotic Society proposed to the Six Nations Confederacy Council that the Patriotic Society withdraw half of their funding from the families of Six Nations soldiers, hoping for the Council to

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[69] Gaffen, 32.

[70] W.C. Van Loon to the Assistant Deputy and Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, 8 March 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6778, File 452-195.

[71] Director of Separation Allowances and Assistant Paymaster for the Department of Militia and Defence to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, 23 May 1918; Capt. F. Shaw, Paymaster, 3rd Canadian Engineering Battalion to Paymaster General, 7 June 1918; and W.C. Van Loon to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, 17 June 1920, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6778, File 452-195.

[72] Capt. F. Shaw, Paymaster, 3rd Canadian Engineering Battalion to Paymaster General, 7 June 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6778, File 452-195.

[73] F.W. Thompson, Canadian Patriotic Fund Brantford Branch to Account and Paymaster, Department of Militia and Defence, 19 July 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6778, File 452-195.

assume responsibility for the other half. The Council rejected the proposal and further asked Indian department Inspector McGibbon to write to the Haldimand C.P.F., reminding them that C.P.F. money was promised by recruiters when Six Nations soldiers enlisted and that they were expected to keep their word.[74] In some cases, the funds never made it to the soldiers' dependents. Superintendent Smith, after being tasked to find out if a separation allowance or any other money that was given to Levi Hope's family, could not find any reference to money being paid to the family in April 1918.[75]

11.4 Six Nations Protests to Enlistment

Aside from deceitful promises and poorly administered C.P.F. funding, there is other evidence that recruiters bent the truth in order to entice recruits. On 2 August 1916, Lucy Maracle wrote the Duke of Connaught claiming her son, Wilfred Maracle "was coaxed by others to join the Army, 215 Battalion."[76] She claimed that his enlistment was against the Six Nations and British alliance as stated in the Two-Row Wampum Belt. Military authorities discharged Wilfred since he had lied about his age and was only fifteen years old.[77] Other traditional Six Nations people and underaged enlistees were not so lucky. On 16 May 1917, the parents of Ptes. Robert Skye, James Williams, Hardie and William Fish, and Joseph Bumberry wrote King George V asking for the discharge of their children as they too were underage and had been persuaded to enlist by other men. Further, they also claimed their enlistment into the Canadian forces went against Two-Row Wampum and Silver Covenant Chain agreement. Although Robert Skye's attestation did note that his day of birth was unknown, military authorities refused to discharge the five men as they claimed they were all

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[74] Six Nations Council Minutes, 2 May 1917, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1741, File 63-32 Part 7. These promises by recruiters during the Second World War is also supported by Innes, 41.

[75] Gordon J. Smith's Summary of the Six Nations Council Minutes, 9 April 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1742, File 63-32 Part 9.

[76] Letter from Lucy Maracle to the Duke of Connaught, 2 August 1916, LAC, RG10, Vol. 676, File 452-15.

[77] Military Service File of Wilfred Maracle, Library and Archives Canada (http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B5910-S025).

of military age.[78] The mother and aunt of Pte. Thomas John, a former Chief at Grand River, wrote the Governor General pleading his discharge. According to the letter, they were told that if he was wounded, he would be discharged from service. Since he had already seen two years of service and had been wounded in the left hand and leg, they wondered when he would be discharged.[79] Samuel Styres wrote to the Governor General, requesting the discharge of his two sons, Clifford and Claude. Although Clifford was of age when he enlisted, he hoped he could be discharged on compassionate grounds, as Samuel was eighty years old and could not care for himself or his farm. Styres furthered argue that Claude was underage and enlisted without his consent.[80]A letter, after being forwarded to the Department of Indian Affairs, informed Styres that his sons would not be discharged and instead he should apply for a separation allowance.[81] The Six Nations at Grand River were not the only First Nations community to suffer from under-age recruiting. The parents of Simpson John Manitowaba from the Ojibwa community at Parry Island submitted their son's birth information in 1916 to show that he was underage.[82] Similar to the parents of underage Six Nations soldiers, Manitowaba's parents noted in their protest that their ancestors had fought

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[78] Joseph Skye, Lucinda Bumberry, Maggie Williams, and Elizabeth Fish to King George V, 31 January 1917 and the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Department of Indian Affairs, 16 May 1917, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6767, File 452 and the Military Service Files of Robert Skye, James Williams, Hardie Fish, William Fish, and Joseph Bumberry, Library and Archives Canada (http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B8969-S017, http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/military-heritage/first-world-war/personnel-records/Pages/image.aspx?Image=677470a&URLjpg=http%3a%2f%2fcentral.bac-lac.gc.ca%2f.item%2f%3fop%3dimg%26app%3dCEF%26id%3d677470a&, http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B3101-S013, http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B3101-S044, and http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B1259-S046 respectively).

[79] Lucy John and Elizabeth Doxtator to the Governor General of Canada, 9 February 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6767, File 452-15 and Military Service file of Thomas John, Library and Archives Canada (http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B4843-S012).

[80] Samuel Styres to the Duke of Devonshire, 24 November 1917, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6767, File 452-15.

[81] Assistant Deputy and Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs to Samuel Styres, 15 December 1917, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6767, File 452-15. It is unknown if Claude Styres was underage at the time of enlistment. Like most other underage recruits, the dates of birth on their attestation forms ensured that they would appear of age. However, Styres attestation form also says he had previous military experience serving with the 38th Dufferin Rifles. If he was underage, he would have had to lie to two recruitment officers; once before and another during the war. (Attestation Papers of Claude Styres, Library and Archives Canada (http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/military-heritage/first-world-war/personnel-records/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=257648)).

[82] Merritt, 126.

in the War of 1812 and that according to their understanding of their treaties with the British, "[t]he English never call Indians out for their country to fight their battles."[83] Like the majority of the Six Nations cases, Manitowaba was not discharged and served from 1916 to the end of the war.[84] In response to the protests, the minister of the Department of Indian Affairs informed Manitowaba's parents that he could not interfere with the affairs of the Department of Militia, and "[y]ou should be proud to have your son among those brave men who sacrifice everything to their loyalty and devotion to their country."[85] Although First Nations people continued to hold true to their treaties and traditional ideas of their military service to the British Crown, Canadian authorities were more than willing to ignore these ideas for the expediency of the war effort.

11.5 The Protest Over Conscription

When the *Military Service Act* came into effect in May 1917, First Nations groups across Canada protested. Although military and judicial authorities had been assured by Duncan Campbell Scott that there were no treaty promises that exempted First Nations people from a national registration in September of 1917,[86] First Nations communities across Canada countered this opinion. First Nations people argued that either being wards of the Crown or by treaty, they were exempted from the *Military Service Act*. The Six Nations Confederacy

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[83] The parents of Simpson John Manitowaba as cited in Merritt, 126.

[84] Merritt, 126 and the service file for Simpson John Manitowaba, Library and Archives Canada (http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B5887-S012).

[85] The Minister for the Department of Indian Affairs as cited in Merritt, 126.

[86] Duncan Campbell Scott to E.L. Newcombe, 1 October 1917, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6768, File 452-20. This scenario would also play out in World War Two, with Canadian law makers and the Departments of National Defense and Indian Affairs agreeing that there were no treaties that made the conscription of First Nations people illegal. Although some references were found noting that treaty negotiators may have mentioned that the Canadian state would not force First Nations people to go to war, these promises were not found in the written treaties. Also making conscription in World War Two different for First Nations people was that it was not for overseas service, but home defense. See R. Scott Sheffield and Hamar Foster, "Fighting the King's War: Harris Smallfence, Verbal Treaty Promises and the Conscription of Indian Men, 1944," *University of British Columbia Law Review* 33 (1999-2000): 53-74).

Council argued that their allied status to the British Crown freed them from conscription as they were citizens of an independent nation.

Chiefs at Grand River advised their people to ignore the act and, most importantly, not to register.[87] After being appointed by the Department of Militia to set up a conscription tribunal to hear cases of exemption, long time member of the Haldimand Rifles Chief J.S. Johnson wrote Duncan Campbell Scott that the Chiefs refused him use the Six Nations Council House for the tribunal.[88] Although Scott tried to force the Chiefs to open the Council House for the tribunal,[89] the Confederacy Council was not willing to have their Council House used for the conscription of their people into Canada's armed forces. Scott was forced to back down when military authorities informed him that a Military Service Council did not have right to commandeer buildings for conscription tribunals.[90]

Registration for the *Military Service Act* continued. Protesting the act, the Chiefs wrote appeals to the Governor General and to King George V, and even sent delegations to Ottawa to stop Six Nations registration in November 1917.[91] They even addressed the Governor General, the Duke of Devonshire, directly during the unveiling of the Alexander Graham Bell Memorial in Brantford in October 1917. The Secretary of the Six Nations Council, Asa R. Hill, informed the Governor General that the Six Nations had already committed 300 men to the war and, since their overall population was small, requested that if Six Nations men were to be conscripted, they should stay in Canada for home defence and not be posted overseas.[92] The Governor General replied that he appreciated the "loyalty and devotion" of the Six Nations, but did not say anything about conscription.[93] It would not be until January 1918 that the Governor General issued an exemption for First Nations peoples from military

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[87] Gordon J. Smith to Duncan Campbell Scott, 31 October 1917, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6768, File 452-20.

[88] J.S. Johnson to Duncan Campbell Scott, 16 October 1917, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6768, File 452-20.

[89] Duncan Campbell Scott to J.S. Johnson, 19 October 1917, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6768, File 452-20.

[90] Duncan Campbell Scott to Gordon J. Smith, 2 November 1917, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6768, File 452-20.

[91] Various Letters, telegrams and petitions, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6768, File 452-20.

[92] Bell Homestead National Historic Site, Transcripts of Speeches at the Unveiling of the Bell Memorial at Brantford, Ontario, on October the Twenty-Fourth, 1917.

[93] Bell Homestead National Historic Site, Transcripts of Speeches at the Unveiling of the Bell Memorial at Brantford, Ontario, on October the Twenty-Fourth, 1917.

service, based not on their treaties and agreements with the British Crown, but instead on the fact that the First Nations population could not vote and were, therefore, wards of the Crown.[94]

This exemption, however, did not ease the tension or confusion surrounding the act. Even Superintendent Gordon Smith was unsure if members of Six Nations were completely exempt from the act and what was to be done about the Six Nations men already conscripted.[95] Smith's confusion was warranted since, by the end November 1917, *The Brantford Expositor* reported that forty-two Six Nations men had already passed through conscription tribunals with only twelve cases being exempted.[96] Others within the Grand River Territory thought the exemption excused them from registering under the *Military Service Act*.[97] Further confusion ensued when Superintendent Smith ordered all missionaries within the Grand River Territory to tell their parishioners that they had until January 31st to register for an exemption.[98] Anglican Missionary Edwin Lee wrote the Governor General in the hopes of clarifying the matter for his parishioners and to extend the deadline for registration as he was unable to announce it to his parishioners due to inclement weather. His letter also noted that since the announcement about the deadline was only given to Christian missionaries, many of the traditional followers with the Territory would not even know there was a deadline.[99] In a statement in February 1918, Duncan Campbell Scott announced that the Governor General's exception only relieved the members of Six Nations from military service. They still had to register.[100] This was met with disapproval by the Six Nations Confederacy Council.

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[94] Draft of Legislation from the Governor General, 17 January 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6768, File 452-20 Part 2.

[95] Gordon J. Smith to Duncan Campbell Scott, 22 January 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6768, File 452-20 Part 2.

[96] "Twelve Indians Refused Claims," *The Brantford Expositor*, 29 November 1917, 7.

[97] Excerpt from the Six Nations Council Minutes, 29 January 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6768, File 452-20 Part 2.

[98] Edwin Lee to the Governor General, 1 February 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6768, File 452-20 Part 2.

[99] Edwin Lee to the Governor General, 1 February 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6768, File 452-20 Part 2. The announcement about the exemption deadline was read in the Six Nations Confederacy Council meeting on 29 January 1918.

[100] Duncan Campbell Scott to Edwin Lee, 5 February 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6768, File 452-20 Part 2.

The Confederacy Council sought legal representation from lawyer J.W. Bowlby over the issue of registering. Bowbly confirmed that Six Nations people did not have to register due to their treaty with the British Crown.[101] This advice flew in the face of the opinions of Duncan Campbell Scott who claimed that First Nations people did not have any special status and were subjects to the British Crown like every other citizen of Canada. Superintendent Smith thought more Six Nations people would register if there was more education about the act, noting that some were unsure whether registration meant military service or immediate enfranchisement into the Canadian state.[102] By July 1918, the Six Nations Council took it upon themselves to issue their own registration cards which stated that the cardholder was a member of the Six Nations and drew annuity money. The front of the card, signed by the Deputy Speaker of the Council, Levi General, noted that by treaty right, the holder of the card was not to be harassed by Canadian officials.[103] Upon hearing of these cards, Duncan Campbell Scott informed Superintendent Smith that the Council had no authority to issue registration cards and that the cards themselves were worthless in the eyes of the federal government.[104]

As the registration deadline approached in June 1918, tensions within and outside the Grand River Territory rose and acts of violence occurred. Ex-Chief A.G. Smith reported an assault on his way to register and further threats of bodily harm if he successfully registered at a later date.[105] Violence even spilled into Brantford. Two unregistered Six Nations men threatened a local baker at McHutcheon's Bakery with assault if he did not continue delivering bread to the families of unregistered men.[106] Nevertheless, the registration deadline closed on the Grand River Territory without incident, with some men not registering, some men registering at the Six Nations Post Office as instructed, and others making their way to Brantford to

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[101] Gordon J. Smith to Duncan Campbell Scott, 5 June 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6770, File 452-26 Part 1.

[102] Gordon J. Smith to Duncan Campbell Scott, 5 June 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6770, File 452-26 Part 1.

[103] Gordon J. Smith to Duncan Campbell Scott, 6 and 8 July 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6770, File 452-26 Part 1.

[104] Duncan Campbell Scott to Gordon J. Smith, 5 and 8 July 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6770, File 452-26 Part 1.

[105] Gordon J. Smith to Duncan Campbell Scott, 14 and 19 June 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6770, File 452-26 Part 1. A.G. Smith resigned from Council on 2 May 1917.

[106] Gordon J. Smith to the Department of Indian Affairs, 3 July 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6770, File 452-26 Part 1.

register out of the sight of their fellow community members.[107] For some, the decision not to register had consequences. Wesley Martin was arrested in Brantford for failure to register in June 1918.[108] Upon his arrest, the Six Nations Confederacy Council volunteered to pay for his defence.[109] Found guilty in July, Martin's fine was paid for by the Confederacy Council.[110] Although another Six Nations man, Seth Newhouse, also had a warrant issued for his arrest after he failed to appear in front of a conscription tribunal in September 1918, no report of a trial has been found, most likely due to the end of the war in November 1918.[111]

Although fighting against conscription, outside of the Grand River Territory, the Six Nations still appeared to be loyal to the war effort, therefore causing little strain to their relationships with non-Six Nations communities. Records show that the only entity antagonistic to the Grand River Six Nations during this time was the Department of Indian Affairs. With many other conscription debates occurring at the same time, including those with other First Nations groups, ethnic minorities, French Quebec, farmers, labourers, men with families, and able-bodied men trying to find some way to be exempt from the act, federal and provincial authorities may have been otherwise too concerned to focus on one group of people wanting exception. In fact, one historian has estimated that nine out of every ten men in Canada applied for an exemption.[112] Locally, the Six Nations fight was added to the anti-conscription fight of Brant County farmers and Brantford industrialists who feared the decline of their work forces.[113] In a common union against conscription, many of the threats issued over

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[107] Gordon J. Smith to Duncan Campbell Scott, 24 June 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6770, File 452-26 Part 1.

[108] Gordon J. Smith to the Department of Indian Affairs, 29 June 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6770, File 452-26 Part 1 and "Indian Failed to Register," *The Brantford Expositor*, 28 June 1918, 1.

[109] "Ohsweken," *The Brantford Expositor*, 6 July 1918, 12.

[110] "Six Nations' Indians Should Have Registered is Finding," *The Brantford Expositor*, 12 July 1918, 16.

[111] Letters and News Clipping from Gordon J. Smith to Duncan Campbell Scott, 19 September 1918, LAC, RG10, LAC, Vol. 6770, File 452-26 Part 1.

[112] Jack L. Granastein "Conscription and the Great War," in *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown*, edited David Mackenzie (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 66 and 69. According to Granastein, 68, this number does not include the men that ran away or hid when they were called by the tribunals.

[113] "Conscription Crisis, Brantford and Brant," "Agriculture," and "Industry 1914-1918," Great War Centenary Association Brantford, Brant County, and Six Nations, (http://www.doingourbit.ca/conscription-crisis-brantford-brant, http://www.doingourbit.ca/agriculture, and http://www.doingourbit.ca/industry-1914-1919).

conscription by the Department of Indian Affairs and the federal government did not come to fruition, with Six Nations people still allowed to shop, eat, and travel within Brantford. Brantford mayor, M.M. MacBride, even sent a telegram to the Governor General asking him visit to the Six Nations and explain registration to them as he felt that there were still some misunderstandings about what it meant.[114] He further announced that the conscription conflict at Six Nations needed to be solved by the Six Nations and British and Canadian governments and not by the city of Brantford. He even went so far to state that if requested, city police would not come to the federal government's aid.[115]

The Six Nations' fight against conscription in Canada was also mirrored by Six Nations communities in the United States. According to historian Erik Zissu, the Six Nations Confederacy in the United States also refused to register for conscription.[116] More importantly, this resistance continued to be organized and based on the Six Nations belief that they were a sovereign people outside of the jurisdiction of the United States through their treaties.[117] According to Zissu, this sovereignty survived the U.S. government's encroachments of the nineteenth century and was based on the treaties they made with the U.S. government in the eighteenth century. Further, Zissu notes that through these treaties, Six Nations communities in the United States were able to exercise this sovereignty through regulating their own affairs in their own communities.[118] While not opposing the war, Six Nations communities in the United States, like their counterparts in Canada, believed it was up to individuals to decide whether or not they wanted to participate.[119] As in Canada, the issue of conscription also divided these Six Nations communities, pitting anti- and pro-conscription factions against each other.[120]

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[114] M. MacBride to the Governor General, 17 July 1918, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6770, File 452-26 Part 1.

[115] "Six Nations' Indians Refuse to Register, Claiming Exemption," *The Brantford Expositor*, 21 June 1918, 1.

[116] Erik M. Zissu, "Conscription, Sovereignty, and Land: American Indian Resistance during World War I," *Pacific Historical Review* 64, 4 (1995): 542, 543, and 547.

[117] Zissu, 543, 545, and 547.

[118] Zissu, 545.

[119] Zissu, 547.

[120] Zissu, 547 and 548.

Chapter 12: Wartime Understandings of Six Nations Culture

Although the war caused many shortages, the publishing industry and their manufacturing, manipulation, and commodification of the images of First Nations people was relatively unaffected. In 1940, First World War veteran and local historian Clayton Walter McCall, from Simcoe, Ontario,[1] wrote a review of First Nations legends collected by anthropologist C. Marius Barbeau for the Norfolk Historical Society and local newspaper, *The Simcoe Reformer*.[2] The legends were primarily military in nature and were said to have taken place in and around Norfolk County, fifty kilometers from the Grand River Territory. As noted by McCall, these legends, collected by Barbeau during his field research among the Huron and Wyandot nations from 1871 to 1912, were published in 1915 as Memoir 80 by the Canadian Department of Mines in Ottawa.[3] Recounting battles between the Seneca and Wyandot, these continued to be popular with local audiences from the First and into the Second World War. This popularity was not hampered by the war, and presses in Canada continued to produce printed material for public consumption. The common tropes found in pre-war Canada surrounding loyalism, anthropology/ethnography, and commemorations of military events and First Nation people shaped how people outside of the Grand River Territory viewed Six Nations culture and military.

A series written for *The Mississippi Historical Review*, by secretary of the Canadian/U.S. International Joint Commission and former City of Ottawa Librarian Lawrence J. Burpee and librarian and archivist at the Canadian National Archive, James F. Kenney, shows that interest in First Nations people, their military as well as the loyalist myth remained strong during the First World War. In his 1915 article, "Historical Activities in Canada, 1914-1915," Burpee notes that the Dominion Archives procured many documents relating to First Nations people and the loyalists, including the letters of French War of 1812 leader Charles

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[1] Military Service File of Clayton Walter McCall, Library and Archives Canada (http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B6603-S024).

[2] C.W. McCall, "An Early Indian Naval Battle off Long Point," 21 November 1940, Eva Brook Donly Museum and Archives. This speech was also reproduced in the *Simcoe Reformer*.

[3] McCall, "An Early Indian Naval Battle off Long Point," 21 November 1940.

de Salaberry, muster rolls, land grants, township registers of loyalists, and documents relating to naval affairs on the Great Lakes and Indian Affairs. He also writes that between all historical and learned societies, over thirty-three books and papers were published about the loyalist heritage of Canada. These papers charted the loyalist and First Nations migration to Canada, their combined defense of Canada in during the War of 1812 and the Rebellions of 1837-38, and how various First Nations leaders and people, like Joseph Brant and Tecumseh, were a part of British Canada.[4] Alongside these loyalist publications and acquisitions, Burpee additionally notes that, as an after effect of the tercentenary celebrations in Quebec, the Canadian government established the Historic Sites and Monuments Board to mark important historical sites throughout Canada.

In his report for 1916, Burpee observes a decrease in publications, although many notable archival acquisitions in Canada relate to its First Nations heritage, with the Dominion Archive acquiring the letter books of the various Indian agents from 1826-1829, the minutes of councils and conferences held with First Nations people in Lower Canada from 1826-1840, and the journal of John McDowell of the Northwest Company.[5] He even notes that as the province of Saskatchewan was beginning to establish their own archives, their first acquisition was a collection of materials from Edgar Dewdney, the former Governor of the Northwest Territories, concerning the 1885 Riel uprising.[6] Burpee, unlike his report for 1914-1915, does not give a comprehensive listing of publications in Canada, but does comment that most of the topics covered by these publications were biographies of prominent non-First Nations people, the War of 1812, the United Empire Loyalists, the Red River Settlement, and the Rebellions of 1837-38.[7] In his accounting of historical activities, however, Burpee still acknowledge the popularity of the War of 1812, noting seven publications about the war and that the Historic Sites and Monuments Board marked the

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[4] Lawrence J. Burpee, "Historical Activities in Canada, 1914-1915," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 2, 2 (1915): 230-250. Burpee, 254-260, further notes that these learned societies published over twenty-one publications about Canadian First Nations people.

[5] Lawrence J. Burpee, "Historical Activities in Canada, 1915-1916," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 3, 2 (1916): 205-206.

[6] Burpee, "Historical Activities in Canada, 1915-1916," 204.

[7] Burpee, "Historical Activities in Canada, 1915-1916," 206.

historical importance of three 1812 battlefields: Chrysler's Farm, Lundy's Lane, and Chateauguay.[8] War of 1812 commemorations were also be performed at the local level, with the people of Thorold, Ontario, erecting a stone monument over the graves of fallen U.S. soldiers whose final resting place was destroyed during the digging of the Welland Canal.[9] Noting current history, Burpee also added a section about recent periodicals that documented the Canadian war effort, including C.C. James' paper for the Royal Society of Canada, "An Historic War Crop – The Wheat Crop of 1915,"[10] showing that the First World War was being added to Canada's popular understanding of their military heritage. What is interesting, however, is that even during wartime, eleven anthropological and ethnographical publications were produced about First Nations people in Canada, including C.M. Barbeau's *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, showing that there was still a keen public and scholarly interest in First Nations people in Canada and their military participation from pre-contact times, the War of 1812, and the Riel Rebellions.[11]

By the time Kenney began reporting the historical activities in Canada in 1918, a slowdown in historical publications was evident. Although the collections of documents relating to the current war and its written history was recorded in the report's periodical and a lengthy section on the creation of the Canadian Historical Division, only four publications by various learned societies concerned the loyalist heritage of Canada, with topics including Lt. Gov. John Graves Simcoe, the War of 1812, and the Rebellions of 1837-38.[12] Again, what is interesting is the continued interest and publication of historical and ethnographic work about First Nations people in Canada. Kenney notes that although some anthropologists, including Barbeau, shifted from the study of First Nations people to the study of French Quebec, ten anthropological publications about the First Nations people in Canada were still produced,[13] demonstrating that Canadian interest in loyalist wartime narratives and ethnographic and

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[8] Burpee, "Historical Activities in Canada, 1915-1916," 208, 210, 213 and 215.

[9] Burpee, "Historical Activities in Canada, 1915-1916," 215.

[10] Burpee, "Historical Activities in Canada, 1915-1916," 208 and 211-212.

[11] Burpee, "Historical Activities in Canada, 1915-1916," 216-218.

[12] James F. Kenney, "Historical Activities in Canada, 1917-1918," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 5, 2 (1915): 190-193, 197-199, and 200-201.

[13] Kenney, 204-206.

anthropological studies of First Nations people continued unabated. These studies of First Nations people written by and for non-First Nations people, produced images that were in opposition to the ways that First Nations people experienced and understood their own military participation. Since these narratives were readily consumed by non-First Nations audiences, they did much to improperly inform non-First Nations people about Six Nations and other First Nations people's military and martial traditions.

12.1 Local Appropriations of the Six Nations Image

As can be seen with the City of Brantford's Old Home Week, the First World War changed the tone of many local and national celebrations and events. On 3 July 1914, it was announced that Brantford would take part in a commemoration of the centenary of the War of 1812. Part of a chain of events throughout Canada, this commemorated 100 years of peace between Canada, the British Empire, and the United States.[14] According to the announcement, the commemoration was to involve many of Brantford's schools in order "to impress on future generations the importance of peace."[15] It was even suggested that there "be a revision of the school histories, giving due prominence to the blessings of peace, and to those treaties which had made such a long peace possible."[16] The announcement also noted that that there would be Six Nations participation as "it would be possible for Brantford to carry out a unique celebration by reason of the fact that the Indian reservation was so near to the city."[17] Although the committee planning the event continued to meet during the war, by January 1915, the committee reported "[i]t was felt that with the present war raging in Europe it would not be politic or advisable to engage in a summer festival, as was anticipated would be the case when the plans for the celebration were first made last year."[18] Instead of

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[14] "Peace Centenary Celebration for Brantford is Possible," *The Brantford Expositor*, 3 July 1914, 1.

[15] "Peace Centenary Celebration for Brantford is Possible," *The Brantford Expositor*, 3 July 1914, 1.

[16] "Peace Centenary Celebration for Brantford is Possible," *The Brantford Expositor*, 3 July 1914, 1.

[17] "Peace Centenary Celebration for Brantford is Possible," *The Brantford Expositor*, 3 July 1914, 1.

[18] "Arranging for Celebration for Hundred Years of Peace Between U.S. and Britain," *The Brantford Expositor*, 30 January 1915, 1 and 8.

cancelling the event, the committee went ahead with a smaller scale commemoration of peace in February 1915, adding their hope that the nations currently engaged in the First World War could learn from Canada's and the United States' ability to maintain a peaceful border.[19]

Although still a Canada-wide event, with many churches and schools taking part across Canada, celebrations in Brantford were somber. At the Colborne Methodist Church, 460 school children from Alexandra and Echo Place schools attended their 1812 service. Showing that the children's enthusiasm for the event was not as high as it could have been, *The Brantford Expositor* reported,

> [t]he attention was close, and though there were four addresses by city ministers the children, on the whole, behaved well, showing a keen interest in the occasion. Two little fellows, not members of either school managed to get in, and started to have a race down the aisles and across the seats, but except for this the children were bright, yet attentive. The questions of the speakers, were answered quickly, though not always were they answered right.

The report continues that there were also commemorative services held at the Brant Avenue, Wellington Street, and Wesley churches. *The Brantford Expositor* reported that the Zion Presbyterian Church's 1812 Service, held a day later than the others during the evening of 17 February, included an address by Six Nations Chief A.G. Smith. Trying to keep his and other minds at peace, Smith stated that, "while his forefathers had been noted for their bravery and service to the British flag, times had changed since those days, and while known in war history, the Indians of Canada had done their best towards the advancement of the arts of peace."[20] Smith continued that

> The Indians were not the warlike people they once were, but they were doing what they could in this time of Great War. He had but two sons, and they were both in the second contingent. He could not give more, for he had just two, though had he a

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[19] "One Hundred Years of Peace," *The Brantford Expositor*, 13 February 1915, 4, "An Exchange of Peace Greetings," *The Brantford Expositor*, 16 February 1915, 6 and "Future Generations Will Hear and Read About the Celebration of Peace," *The Brantford Expositor*, 18 February 1915, 1 and 8.

[20] "Future Generations Will Hear and Read About the Celebration of Peace," *The Brantford Expositor*, 18 February 1915, 1 and 8.

> dozen they would all have been there. As it was the Indians were working along agricultural lines and thus advancing the interests of the country.[21]

The Brantford Expositor also noted that Smith "further remarked that the Six Nation about 35 years ago, 2000 strong, were now 5,000 strong, showing that they were not a dying race."[22] Through this statement, Smith not only told his audience that the Six Nations' war effort was similar to theirs, he also corrected the misconception that the Six Nations were disappearing.

Speakers following Smith also talked of peace and the First World War. The musical portion of the evening encouraged donations; the money raised given to the Patriotic Fund.[23] Trying to keep some aspect of an international celebration, the civic organizations, led by the Brantford Board of Trade, wrote to various businesses and other organizations in the United States, sending them tidings of peace on this day of remembrance. In total, thirty-two letters were returned to Brantford with many referencing the War of 1812, the First World War, and the Canadian/British War effort, with most displaying some sympathy to the cause and wanting the United States government to give support.[24]

Brantford newspapers seemed to support the Six Nations war effort. Contrary to the analysis of Mark Cronlund Anderson, Carmen L. Robertson, and R. Scott Sheffield, *The Brantford Expositor*, unlike the newspapers found in their studies, did not portray First Nations people as unprogressive, non-evolving, and uncivilized people that needed Christianity to save them. Nor were there portrayals of Six Nations standing in the way of progress or a privileging of English-Canadian culture above that of the First Nations.[25] As noted by Sheffield, although

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[21] "Future Generations Will Hear and Read About the Celebration of Peace," *The Brantford Expositor*, 18 February 1915, 1 and 8.

[22] "Future Generations Will Hear and Read About the Celebration of Peace," *The Brantford Expositor*, 18 February 1915, 1 and 8.

[23] "Celebration of Peace Centenary," *The Brantford Expositor*, 17 February 1915, 3 and "Future Generations Will Hear and Read About the Celebration of Peace," *The Brantford Expositor*, 18 February 1915, 1 and 8.

[24] "Future Generations Will Hear and Read About the Celebration of Peace," *The Brantford Expositor*, 18 February 1915, 1 and 8 and "Expressions of Good Will from U.S. Manufacturers in Reply to Peace Message," *The Brantford Expositor*, 24 February 1915, 1.

[25] Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L Robertson, *Seeing in Red: A History of First Nations in Canadian Newspapers* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011), 7; R. Scott Sheffield, *The Red Man's on the Warpath: The Image of the "Indian" and the Second World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 5 and 178; and Roland Graham Haycock, *The Image of the Indian: The Canadian Indian as a*

talking about the portrayal of First Nations people in the Second World War, First Nations wartime participation pushed them out of irrelevance for non-First Nations audiences and provided a spotlight for their issues, encouraging empathy and pity from the Canadian public.[26] First Nations participation in the war also gave them another platform to speak for themselves, challenging the non-First Nations audience to re-think their positions about First Nations people.[27]

There may be many reasons for this portrayal of the Six Nations war effort by *The Brantford Expositor*. Although founded as conservative paper in 1852, by 1855 *The Brantford Expositor* had changed its political leaning to the Reformer/Liberal party.[28] When purchased by Thomas Hiram Preston in 1890, Preston dropped the paper's political leanings, declared it to be impartial, and ran the paper for profit.[29] This did not mean, however, that his personal politics did not find their way into the paper. Preston, the liberal MPP for South Brant from 1899-1908, used the paper to advocate for the Children's Aid Society, Brantford Young Men's Christian Association, Brantford General Hospital, expansion of Brantford industry, other social reforms, and liberal party mandates.[30] The decision to champion liberal causes in Brantford was very much needed as Brantford's other newspaper, *The Brantford Courier*, acted as the conservative party's advocate until it closed its doors in December 1918.[31]

Stereotypical images of First Nations people found in textbooks, newspapers, novels, and Wild West shows were toned down during wartime.[32] As noted by historians Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L. Robertson, this downplaying of stereotypical images in newspaper

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Subject and a Concept in a Sampling of the Popular National Magazines Read in Canada, 1900-1970 (Waterloo, ON: Waterloo Lutheran University, 1974), 1, 3, 7, 8, and 9.

[26] Sheffield, *The Red Man's on the Warpath*, 179 and 180.

[27] Sheffield, *The Red Man's on the Warpath*, 180.

[28] Kathy Lynn English, "Family Ties and Chains of Ownership: The Expositor from Thomas Hiram Preston to Conrad Moffat Black, 1890-1997" (M.A. diss, The University of Western Ontario, 1998), 31 and 32.

[29] English, 32, 34, and 49.

[30] English, 48, 49, and 53.

[31] English 51 and F. Douglas Reville, *History of the County of Brant* vol. 1 (Brantford: The Hurley Printing Company, 1920), 141.

[32] Sheffield, *The Red Man's on the Warpath*, 6.

reporting tells us more about what non-First Nations people thought of First Nations people as newspapers were run, written, and consumed by non-First Nations people. They do not, however, reveal what First Nations people thought about their own war effort.[33] The questions then become: why did the Canadian public care so much about First Nations wartime participation, and why did their perspective change from stereotypical images found in pre-war culture to a non-racialized image found in the wartime coverage of *The Brantford Expositor*?[34]

According to historian Roland Graham Haycock, instead of framing First Nations people as doomed to assimilation through the civilizing efforts of Christian churches and the federal government, "[t]he outbreak of war in 1914 seemed to stay temporarily the demands for assimilation and doom. The Indian was seen in a more patriotic light."[35] As First Nations people voluntarily responded to the war effort, newspapers portrayed them as excellent soldiers and patriotic citizenry "responding to the war effort in a fashion that equaled if not surpassed the contribution of many whites."[36] Mixed with this praise, however, was an assimilative tone. Although portraying First Nations people in a positive light, the press coverage may not have changed the way the outside world viewed them. Many non-First Nations people still held to their pre-war liberal democratic principles. Coverage illustrated that First Nations people could participate in the war as equals, but also continued the implicit message that First Nations people could "act like white men."[37] Although demonstrating they could be reflexive in their portrayal of First Nations people, the wartime press still fell into the assimilative tropes forcing First Nations people into the body politic of the Canadian state.[38]

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[33] Anderson and Robertson, 14.

[34] Sheffield, *The Red Man's on the Warpath*, 2.

[35] Haycock, 17 and 21.

[36] Haycock, 21.

[37] Haycock, 21 and 22 and Sheffield, *The Red Man's on the Warpath*, 178.

[38] Haycock, 18 and 19, Anderson and Robertson, 226, and Sheffield, *The Red Man's on the Warpath*, 177.

This change can be found in the pages of *The Brantford Expositor*. In a survey of 184 headlines that referenced Six Nations' wartime participation, only five referenced Six Nations loyalty to the British Crown.[39] These articles portray the Six Nations/British allied relationship as an aspect of their history and not their current state of affairs. The only time this was countered was during the conscription debates. One article, written by the Deputy Speaker of the Six Nations Confederacy Council, Levi General, Chief Seth Newhouse, and Henry Henhawk, did not mention Six Nations loyalty to the British Crown in its headline, but did outline their allied status as a reason the Six Nations did not have to register.[40] Another article, after the conscription trial of Wesley Martin, ran the headline, "Six Nations as Allies Can be Conscripted."[41] The last article ran the headline "Indians Renew Pledge of Loyalty." Written by Superintendent Gordon Smith, this article ran at the height of the Six Nations conscription issue and reminded non-Six Nations readers Six Nations' loyalty to the British Crown stating "The Six Nations Indians in Council assembled beg to renew pledge of loyalty to the British Crown and join with Your Majesty in thanks to the Great Spirit for blessings of peace."[42] Writing in the wake of the Six Nations fight against conscription and registration, Smith used this article to reminded readers that many Six Nations people had remained loyal to the British and had "taken a notable and worth part in the great world war."[43] Although these articles did observe that the Six Nations saw their alliance with Britain as part of their contemporary experience, the majority of *The Expositor's* wartime Six Nations articles were positive stories informing their readers about their wartime participation.[44]

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[39] "The Path of Fire," *The Brantford Expositor*, 22 December 1915, 12, "'Brock's Rangers' an Appropriate Title for Six Nations' Indians," *The Brantford Expositor*, 10 April 1916, 10, "Indians Respond Splendidly to Call of Empire with Men and Money," *The Brantford Expositor*, 20 June 1916, 4, "Six Nations as Allies Can be Conscripted," 5 October 1917, 11 and "Indians Renew Their Pledge of Loyalty," *The Brantford Expositor*, 25 October 1918, 6.

[40] "Six Nations' Indians Refuse to Register Claiming Exemption," *The Brantford Expositor*, 21 June 1918, 1.

[41] "Six Nations as Allies Can be Conscripted," *The Brantford Expositor*, 5 October 1917, 11.

[42] "Indians Renew Their Pledge of Loyalty," *The Brantford Expositor*, 25 October 1918, 6.

[43] "Indians Renew Their Pledge of Loyalty," *The Brantford Expositor*, 25 October 1918, 6.

[44] Elizabeth Leeson, "Preserving Identity: The Six Nations of the Grand River and the Second World War" (M.A. diss, The University of Western Ontario, 2002), 84.

There is some additional evidence that headlines in *The Expositor* may have challenged existing non-First Nations stereotypes. Using the same sampling of 184 headlines, only six used the terms "Red Indian," "Warpath," or referenced Six Nations soldiers as warriors or braves.[45] Of these examples, the only two headlines that used the term "Red Indian" and "Warpath" were reprinted from the *Glasgow Daily Record* and dispatches from Syracuse, New York. The story from the *Glasgow Daily Record* explored the 114th band's tour of Scotland, while the story based on the dispatches from Syracuse focused on the role First Nations people in the United States were playing in the war.[46] The terms "brave" or "warrior" was only used in two small articles noting the return of individual Six Nations soldiers.[47] This lack of salacious or stereotypical language in their headlines present the relationship between the Six Nations and the people of Brantford as one of mutual respect.[48] Alternatively, these headlines may also reinforce that people in Brantford saw the Six Nations as already assimilated into the Canadian state and war effort.

In two stories, *The Brantford Expositor* reported on First Nations people who were not the Six Nations: "Indians Respond Splendidly to Call of Empire with Men and Money" and "Indians on the Warpath." The first article was mostly an interview with recruiter Charles Cooke explaining the role the First Nations people in Canada played in the war from the perspective of the Department of Indian Affairs.[49] There would be other articles in the newspaper written from the Department's point of view,[50] but this is the only one using the

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[45] "Edinburgh Sees Real Red Indians," *The Brantford Expositor*, 27 December 1916, 6, "Indian Tribesmen Visited Glasgow," *The Brantford Expositor*, 28 December 1916, 3, "Indian Warriors on West Front Would Abolish Hereditary Chiefs," *The Brantford Expositor*, 5 October 1917, 11, "Indians on the Warpath," *The Brantford Expositor*, 17 September 1918, 9, "Braves Return," *The Brantford Expositor*, 10 October 1918, 6 and Returned Brave," *The Brantford Expositor*, 20 December 1918, 6.

[46] "Edinburgh Sees Real Red Indians," *The Brantford Expositor*, 27 December 1916, 6, "Indian Tribesmen Visited Glasgow," *The Brantford Expositor*, 28 December 1916, 3 and "Indians on the Warpath," *The Brantford Expositor*, 17 September 1918, 9.

[47] "Braves Return," *The Brantford Expositor*, 10 October 1918, 6 and Returned Brave," *The Brantford Expositor*, 20 December 1918, 6.

[48] Leeson, 93.

[49] "Indians Respond Splendidly to Call of Empire with Men and Money," *The Brantford Expositor*, 20 June 1916, 4.

[50] "Indian Record a Proud One," *The Brantford Expositor*, 30 March 1918, 12 and "Indians in the War," *The Brantford Expositor*, 8 April 1918, 4.

tropes of "young braves," "Red Indian," and "burying the hatchet" in reference to First Nations military service.[51] Although the use of these terms may be Cooke's choice, *The Expositor* also used the same words in their headline concerning First Nations military service in the United States in the article, "Indians on the Warpath."[52] Despite the salacious headline, this article did not use any other stereotypes employed in Cooke's article. This headline does, however, suggest that the writers of the newspaper may have applied a double standard to Six Nations. Being closer to Brantford, the writers may have believed the Six Nations were assimilated, making their war effort the same as that of the surrounding community. All other First Nations groups were potentially not perceived as assimilated and therefore deserved these colonial tropes.

This press coverage was not completely negative. As noted by Haycock, press coverage of the First Nations war effort compelled non-First Nations people to pay attention to First Nations people and their problems. Like their ancestors, First Nations people used their military participation to force their way onto the Canadian national platform where they advocated for solutions to First Nations issues that were not the usual social Darwinist/assimilative fix. Due to their wartime service and common sacrifice with the Canadian public, the non-First Nations community began to listen.[53]

This can best be seen in an editorial published by *The Expositor* staff in 1919. In summing up the Six Nations war effort, the editor reported,

> The part played by the North American Indians in the Great War was one highly creditable to the descendants of the original inhabitants of the continent…In Brant, the first First Nations-born to fall in action was Lieut. Cameron D. Brant, lineal descendant on both sides of the house of Chief Joseph Brant, who died while leading his men in…the second battle of Ypres…In proportion to their numbers the Six Nations Indians gave an even greater number than the average for the whole of Canada. The honor roll recently published showed how effectively they had fought, how willing they had paid the great price. While the Six Nations' Indians opposed the Military Service Act, it was not because they opposed the principle of compulsory

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[51] "Indians Respond Splendidly to Call of Empire with Men and Money," *The Brantford Expositor*, 20 June 1916, 4.

[52] "Indians on the Warpath," *The Brantford Expositor*, 17 September 1918, 9.

[53] Haycock, 18, 21, and 90.

> military service, but because they held strictly to the tradition that in case of need the King himself should send an appeal to the nation, which appeal would be transmitted to the War Council, which would assign the braves to their duties in fighting for their ally, the Great Father across the seas. Such appeal was not forthcoming, and the protest against enforced service followed. But that it was only a technical protest is shown by the fact that more men had already gone than would have been the share of the nation had it been enforced in proportion to population.[54]

The article concluded, "the Six Nations' Indians have played a noble part in the war, and their services are worthy of full recognition. The blood of the Iroquois warriors of 1776 and 1812 ran true in the veins of their descendants in 1914-1918," connecting a historical and cultural understanding of Six Nations military alliance with the British Crown.[55] Outside of the Six Nations community, Six Nations service in the First World War was understood to be an expression of their allied and separate nation status.

Other newspaper reporting in Brantford, however, illustrated that although the Six Nations and non-Six Nations people shared in a combined war effort, there was a fine line between mutual respect and appropriation. The First World War, as can be seen by the advertisement for Brantford's Old Home Week in 1914, was not the first time the non-Six Nations public used the image of the Six Nations as their own.[56] After "C" Company of the 2nd Dragoons broke off and formed the 25th Brant Dragoons in 1909, the leaders of the Dragoons turned to the Six Nations to find a symbol of Brant County's military past. According to the Six Nations Confederacy Council minutes, "the crest adopted by the 25th Dragoons Regiment was the head of an Indian, with the customary feather head dress, and which is too be on their forage caps, helmets, cross belts &c of the officers and men of the Regiment."[57] Although the adoption of this hat badge was brought to the Six Nations Council does not mean they approved of this choice as the minutes do not include any discussion of the item other than its announcement by Superintendent Smith.[58]

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[54] "The Indians and the Great War," *The Brantford Expositor*, 22 January 1919, 4.

[55] "The Indians and the Great War," *The Brantford Expositor*, 22 January 1919, 4.

[56] Advertisement for Brantford's Old Home Week, Great War Centenary Association Brantford, Brant County, Six Nations (http://www.doingourbit.ca/old-home-week).

[57] Six Nations Council Minutes, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6771, File 452-35, Part 1.

[58] Six Nations Council Minutes, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6771, File 452-35, Part 1.

Figure 8: 25th Brant Dragoons Hat Badge, Author's Photo

Raised in late 1915, the 125th Battalion also appropriated Six Nations imagery when it came to their hat badge. When explaining their badge in their battalion newspaper, reporters noted that the imagery was a true representation of Brantford, Brant County, and Six Nations:

> With the Maple Leaf as a background an Imperial Crown surmounts the numerals "125", which are enclosed by an oval band bearing the regimental motto, "For King and County." Below the numerals is the crest of the County of Brant, which includes a Bear standing on two logs (one Pine and one of Oak). The pine log represents the Six Nations Indians and the oak log the British nation. The two logs are bound together by thongs, representing the treaties binding the Indians and the British. On the right and left are scrolls bearing the words, "Canada" and "overseas" respectively.[59]

In his analysis of the hat badge, Haudenosaunee scholar Richard W. Hill Sr. notes that the bear in the centre, standing on bound sticks or logs, represents Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea – literally, "Sticks bound together"), and is reminiscent of the seal of the Six Nations Confederacy Council which is a bear, standing on a log above six arrows overlapping each other.[60]

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[59] "Appropriateness of Regimental Badge," *The Brant War-Whoop*, 1, 1 (15 April 1916), 15.

[60] Richard W. Hill Sr., *War Clubs and Wampum Belts: Hodinohso:ni Experiences of the War of 1812* (Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 2012), 83 and 84.

Figure 9: 125th Brant Battalion Hat Badge, Copyright of Geoffrey Moyer

This connection to Brant continued in the battalion's nickname, "the Brant Battalion." Raised out of the 38th Dufferin Rifles in Brantford, "the Brant Battalion" nickname seems to come from the name of Brant County, where a majority of the recruits came from. This however is countered by the battalion's newspaper which reported, "The BRANT BATTALION is named after a county, it is true, but back of the county is the warrior whose name is perpetuated in Brant County and Brant's Ford or Brantford."[61] After a two-paragraph explanation of the military career of Joseph Brant, the article continues: "Like many other men, Brant's story and history are hard to separate. Whenever possible he restrained his savage kindred, and in his intense devotion to the English crown, spared nothing to prevent the American Colonies from severing their connection with Great Britain" and "[b]y all Canadians his memory will ever be honored because of his unswerving devotion to the British crown. The Brant Battalion will now, a century later, carry the great chief's name into another and greater struggle for the same flag."[62]

This connection to Joseph Brant could also be found printed in their battalion newspaper, with the front-page letterhead of the paper containing the crest of 125th Battalion and the bust of Joseph Brant. The newspaper further appropriated images of a stereotypical First Nations

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[61] "Why – The Brant Battalion?" *The Brant War-Whoop*, 1, 1 (15 April 1916), 7.

[62] "Why – The Brant Battalion?" *The Brant War-Whoop*, 1, 1 (15 April 1916), 7.

culture, entitling the newspaper, *The War Whoop* with the first issue's front page being a photo of "Our Chief," the commanding officer of the battalion, Lt. Col. M.E.B. Cutcliffe.[63] The second issue's cover page was the battalion's new mascot, a pony they had named Brant.[64] When explaining their title *The War Whoop,* the paper noted that since the battalion was "officered and manned by men of Brant County which is indissolubly linked with the Six Nations, the 125th news dispenser could have no more suitable name."[65] Although this was their justification, and there is evidence of Six Nation recruits in the 125th Battalion,[66] the name itself was suggested by two non-Six Nations sergeants of the battalion, J.A. Patterson and W. Wallace, and was chosen over thirteen other names, none of which had any First or Six Nations connection.[67] Other stereotypical First Nations imagery can be found in the pages of *The War Whoop*, with meetings of the battalion being call "powwows"[68] and stories of soldiers falling prey to Six Nations women, with one story about a Pte. R. Brantthorpe "having been captivated by a dusky squaw, during his peregrinations around the Reserve."[69]

Although the content of this four-issue newspaper is questionable, especially considering there were Six Nations members in the 125th Battalion, it created battalion unity. In an article spoofing the ten commandments, writers of the newspaper noted that the battalion's 11th commandment was "Thou shalt love thy comrades of whatever race or color they may be, but thou shalt hate the Germans as thou dost hate,"[70] proving that in wartime, although they may

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[63] "Our Chief," *The Brant War-Whoop,* 1, 1 (15 April 1916), 1.

[64] "Brant," *The Brant War-Whoop,* 1, 2 (29 April 1916), 21.

[65] "Our Title," *The Brant War-Whoop,* 1, 1 (15 April 1916), 4.

[66] "Reconnaissance from the Scouts," *The Brant War-Whoop,* 1, 1 (15 April 1916), 12; "'A' Company's Musketry Results" and "Sent by the Signalers," *The Brant War-Whoop,* 1, 2 (29 April 1916), 25 and 32 and "'B' Company's Musketry Reports," "Muster Roll of the Brant Battalion," *The Brant War-Whoop,* 1, 3 (19 May 1916), 43 and 55-59 and We Remember Database," The Great War Centenary Association Brantford, Brant County, Six Nations (Available at http://www.doingourbit.ca/records-search).

[67] "Our Title," *The Brant War-Whoop,* 1, 1 (15 April 1916), 4.

[68] "'C' Company Cackles," *The Brant War-Whoop,* 1, 1 (15 April 1916), 15.

[69] "Pithy Points from Paris," *The Brant War-Whoop,* 1, 2 (29 April 1916), 36.

[70] "As it is Written," *The Brant War-Whoop,* 1, 4 (19 May 1916), 77.

not understand each other, their common enemy - the Germans - meant greater racial harmony between the people of Brantford and Six Nations.

Chapter 13: Conclusion: Military Traditions and Post-War Politics

On 20 October 1919, His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, visited the city of Brantford. As part of a good will tour uniting Canada to the British Empire in the immediate aftermath of the war, the Prince, while in Brantford, reviewed veterans and gave out military awards including a Military Cross to Lt. C.D. Smith, son of former Six Nations Chief A.G. Smith.[1] At the Brantford train station, crowds of people, local dignitaries, and the Great War Veterans Association and their band, met the Prince.[2] After reviewing his honour guard comprised of veterans, the Prince continued to the armouries where he addressed the crowds and gave out military awards. The Prince noted that although his visit was a short one, he was delighted to make "acquaintance with the people of Brantford and of seeing some, at least, of the veterans from this district who fought in the Great War. I also wish to offer my sympathy to all those who have suffered dismemberment or loss."[3] After the armouries, the Prince was taken to the Bell Memorial where he inspected veterans from the Army and Navy Veterans Association before being driven to the Mohawk Chapel to inspect the Mohawk Institute cadets, sign the Queen Anne Bible, and visit and plant a tree at the tomb of Joseph Brant.[4]

Although the Mohawk Chapel marked the furthest the Prince would go into the Grand River Territory, he was driven to Brant Memorial in Victoria Park to meet the Chiefs of the Six Nations Confederacy Council and the mothers and widows of the Six Nations soldiers who were killed in action during the war. In the presence of the Union Jack and the Two Row Wampum, the Chiefs lead the Prince through a ceremony bestowing on him the title Da-yon-

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[1] "Decorations to be Presented by the Prince," *The Brantford Expositor*, 17 October 1919, 4 and "Princeton Truly Prince's Town," *The Brantford Expositor*, 22 October, 1919, 6 and Douglas F. Reville, *History of the County of Brant* vol. 1 (Brantford: The Hurley Printing Company, 1920), 199 and 200.

[2] "'God Bless the Prince of Wales!'" *The Brantford Expositor*, 20 October 1919, 1 and Reville, 198.

[3] "Prince of Wales' Visit Was a Memorable One," *The Brantford Expositor*, 21 October 1919, 3 and Reville, 199.

[4] "Prince of Wales' Visit Was a Memorable One," *The Brantford Expositor*, 21 October 1919, 3 and Reville, 200.

hem-seia (Dawn of Day) of the Turtle Clan.[5] After the ceremony, secretary of the Council, Asa R. Hill, gave the Chiefs' address, stating that during the war:

> the people of Six Nations have been your willing and loyal allies. The strong men of our nation eagerly enlisted in the army of the Dominion of Canada that we might serve the British Crown and the cause of world freedom…We have been steadfast for two and a half centuries, and your historians and officers have been pleased to record that it was the power of our arms that saved Canada for the British Empire when another nation contested for the Dominion. We have believed in British justice and have not been disappointed for the doctrine of the inherent rights of smaller nations is an ancient one with England. We are a diminishing power, yet for the time of our earliest contact, Great Britain has recognized our rights of sovereignty.[6]

Hill further stated that the Six Nations "rejoice in the friendship that Great Britain has bestowed upon us. We will defend the King and Empire with our lives. Call us and we shall be ready."[7] The Six Nations Patriotic League also conferred a Six Nations name on Queen Mary, giving her the name "the great, great woman, mother of love" (Ta-non-ronh-kiva).[8] After the naming ceremonies finished, the Prince unveiled and dedicated the Six Nations honour roll, which was struck on a bronze plaque. For the Six Nations, this confirmed and renewed their traditional alliance and loyalty to the British Crown.

13.1 Post War Activism: Fred Loft

For the Six Nations, this alliance renewal fueled the post-war mission of two Six Nations men, one representing the Six Nations Confederacy Council overseas and the other rallying First Nations people across Canada to press the federal government for their treaty rights. The first of these men was Six Nations veteran Fredrick Ogilvie Loft. Loft was born on the

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[5] "Was Initiated into Council of Chiefs as a Member of the Mohawks, Turtle Clan," *The Brantford Expositor*, 21 October 1919, 3 and Reville, 200.

[6] "Was Initiated into Council of Chiefs as a Member of the Mohawks, Turtle Clan," *The Brantford Expositor*, 21 October 1919, 3.

[7] "Was Initiated into Council of Chiefs as a Member of the Mohawks, Turtle Clan," *The Brantford Expositor*, 21 October 1919, 3.

[8] "Was Initiated into Council of Chiefs as a Member of the Mohawks, Turtle Clan," *The Brantford Expositor*, 21 October 1919, 3 and Reville, 201.

Grand River Territory in 1861,[9] was brought up in the Anglican faith, but also attended the Cayuga, Seneca, and Onondaga Longhouses.[10] Loft also attended the residential school, the Mohawk Institute, and later high school in the neighboring town of Caledonia.[11] Initially a newspaper reporter for *The Brantford Expositor*, Loft later was hired by the Provincial Lunatic Asylum in Toronto as an accountant, a job he held for the next forty years.[12] In 1898, Loft married Affa Northcote of Genry, Chicago, who was a cousin of Lord Iddesleigh.[13] For most of his adult life, Loft lived in Toronto, but maintained a summer residence in his mother's farm on the Grand River Territory.[14] Like others at the Grand River Territory, Loft was member of the Masonic Lodge and United Empire Loyalist Association.[15]

Loft joined the Canadian army first with the 37th Haldimand Rifles and later transferred in 1913 to the 109th Regiment from Toronto,[16] where he traveled to different reservations as a recruiter.[17] In February 1917, Loft enlisted with the Canadian Expeditionary Force as a Lieutenant and served overseas in railway and forestry battalions. After five months of overseas service, Loft, most likely due to his advanced age, was declared unsuitable for

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[9] Yale D. Belanger, "Seeking a Seat at the Table: A Brief History of Indian Political Organizing in Canada" (Ph.D. diss., Tent University, 2006), 153. There seems to be some scholarly debate over Loft's age and date of birth. E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 102, puts Loft's year of birth at 1862. Jean Goodwill and Norma Sluman, *John Tootoosis* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1984), 128, Peter Kulchyski, "A Considerable Unrest: F.O. Loft and the League of Indians," *Native Studies Review* 4, 1 and 2 (1988): 99, and Donald B. Smith, "Loft, Frederick Ogilvie" *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 16 (1931-1940 (http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/loft_frederick_ogilvie_16E.html), agree with the 1862 date of birth, but also note that Loft changed his age on his First World War attestation form, making him appear younger than he actually was.

[10] It would seem that Loft had layered his traditional alongside his Christian beliefs. According to Hill, 322, this process of layering traditional longhouse beliefs with Christian beliefs was a common practice within the Grand River Territory throughout the 1840s and 1850s.

[11] Belanger, 153 and Smith, "Loft, Frederick Ogilvie".

[12] Smith, "Loft, Frederick Ogilvie".

[13] Gorman, 76.

[14] Belanger, 152 and Smith, "Loft, Frederick Ogilvie".

[15] Belanger, 154 and Smith, "Loft, Frederick Ogilvie".

[16] Military Service File for Fredrick Loft, Library and Archives of Canada (http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B5710-S048).

[17] Belanger, 152 and Smith, "Loft, Frederick Ogilvie".

service and sent back to Britain.[18] It was during this time that Loft was appointed a pine tree chief[19] by the Six Nations Council and met with King George V to present Six Nations grievances against Canada's *Indian Act*, claiming it was time for Britain to renew its treaties with the First Nations people of Canada.[20] The King did not act on Loft's suggestions, so Loft presented his case to the British Privy Council, where he was told that he, as one person, did not represent all the First Nations people of Canada. If he wanted to air their grievances against the Canadian government, he would have to come back as their appointed leader.[21]

After returning home, Loft established a national body to represent all First Nations groups in Canada. At the 20 December 1918 meeting of the Grand Indian Council of Ontario on the Grand River Territory, Loft proposed his idea for a national association. He was elected president and secretary of the organization that would bypass the Department of Indian Affairs and take First Nations concerns directly to the government of Canada and finish his mission of airing Six Nations and other First Nations concerns to the British Privy Council. Loft called his group the League of Indians. To aid in making the league financially independent, he imposed membership fees of $5.00 per First Nations group and five cents per individual member.[22] A charge of ten cents was applied to each non-member if they wanted to attend the league's annual meeting.[23]

After the league's first meeting in Sault St. Marie in 1919, Loft established the Ontario League of Indians with Rev. S.A. Brigham from Walpole Island elected the league's first vice president. Together they set out to create a truly national movement. His experience in the First World War had put Loft in contact with many First Nations communities and people. With this knowledge, Loft began writing letters to First Nations leaders across

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[18] Belanger, 155.

[19] A pine tree chief was appointed by the Confederacy Council to advise or act on their behalf in matters they believe the person has an expertise in.

[20] Belanger, 152 and Smith, "Loft, Frederick Ogilvie".

[21] Belanger, 153 and Smith, "Loft, Frederick Ogilvie".

[22] Titley, 103.

[23] Goodwill and Sluman, 130.

Canada.[24] Communities on the prairies were receptive to the idea, but some of the traditional leaders could not read English. To bridge this barrier, Loft brought his message directly to them.[25] The league of Indians held its next meeting at Elphinstone, Manitoba. By meeting's end, league had established the Alberta and Saskatchewan chapters under another First World War veteran Chief Mike Mountain Horse (Alberta), and Rev. Edward Ahenakew (Saskatchewan). With the large turn out from First Nations communities in Saskatchewan, Loft held the next yearly meeting on the Thunderchild Reserve in 1921. By 1922, the league's popularity had grown and during their annual meeting in Hobbema, Alberta, 15,000 First Nations people attended.[26] First Nations leader John Tootoosis estimated that at the time of this meeting the actual paying members of the league was somewhere between 8000-9000 people.[27]

With its rising power, it was not long before the Department of Indian Affairs took interest. To undermine the league, the department cut off all communication with Loft.[28] Loft, however, kept petitioning the federal government and even presented the league's case to Canadian Parliament in 1920.[29] To stop the embarrassment he and other First Nations protests caused the department, Section 141 was added to the *Indian Act*, prohibiting the solicitation of money from First Nations peoples without the Department's approval.[30] Effectively, this made the league's collection of membership dues illegal. To solve this problem, Loft declared that anyone could be a member of the league without payment.[31] Although this measure kept the league alive, it ended its self-sufficiency.

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[24] Stan Cutherland, "The First Nations People of the Prairie Provinces in the 1920s and 1930s," in *One Century Later: Western Canadian Reserve Indians Since Treaty 7*, edited by Ian A.L. Getty and Donald B. Smith (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978), 31 and 41.

[25] Goodwill and Sluman, 135.

[26] Kulchyski, 99.

[27] Goodwill and Sluman, 130.

[28] Kulchyski, 108 and Titley, 106.

[29] Kulchyski, 109.

[30] Kulchyski, 111.

[31] Kulchyski, 111.

In a further attempt to sever Loft from the league, the Duncan Campbell Scott and Department of Indian Affairs began the process to enfranchise Loft under Bill 14 which allowed for involuntary enfranchisement. By enfranchising Loft, the Department was trying to sever Loft from his community by forcing him to renounce his First Nations status and make him a Canadian citizen. The department began the process soon after the league's second meeting.[32] Although volunteering to be enfranchised in 1906-1907, mostly due to financial concerns,[33] Loft fought this forced enfranchisement claiming that it would outcast him from his own people, and that First Nations people should be encouraged to be First Nations and not Canadian.[34] With the fall of Prime Minister Arthur Meighen's government in 1921 and the new Prime Minister's abolition of compulsory enfranchisement in 1922, Loft's case for enfranchisement was dropped.[35]

Loft also faced other problems. He had to maintain full time employment while administering the league.[36] This and the illness of his wife from 1926-1927, fractured his participation in the league.[37] With the majority of his time spoken for, Loft was unable to expand the league as he had originally planned.[38] The first chapter to fail was in Ontario since it no longer had a strong leader. In Alberta and Saskatchewan, the league continued but as two separate regional councils.[39] Loft tried to revive the league throughout 1928-1931,

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[32] Titley, 105.

[33] Smith, "Loft, Frederick Ogilvie". According to Hill, 344, Loft's 1906-1907 enfranchisement was stopped by the Six Nations Confederacy Council who argued that the enfranchisement process allowed for the enfranchised person's land to become government owned property which went against the Haldimand Proclamation of 1784. Further, according Smith, "Loft, Frederick Ogilvie," to Once Loft heard the Confederacy Council was against his application, he withdrew it.

[34] Kulchyski, 107.

[35] Smith, "Loft, Frederick Ogilvie"; Kulchyski, 107' and Titley, 106.

[36] Goodwill and Sluman, 130.

[37] Kulchyski, 100. During this period, Loft moved his wife and family to Chicago to be closer to his wife's family.

[38] Titley, 108.

[39] Kulchyski, 100. The Saskatchewan chapter would cease operations in 1942 and the Alberta chapter continued and renamed itself the Indian Council of Alberta in 1939. Neal McLeod, *Cree Narrative Memory: From Treaties to Contemporary Times* (Saskatoon: Purich Publishing, 2007), 85, states that this and other regional groups would later combine and form the League of Indians of Western Canada. This group identifies itself as being the offshoot of Loft's original League of Indians.

traveling and trying to raise $4000 to renew his 1918 mission to the British Privy Council.[40] This put him in direct violation of Section 141 of the *Indian Act*. Scott, still believing Loft to be a threat, meant to charge him for violating the act, but with Loft in his 70s and in failing health,[41] Scott backed down. Loft was unable to raise the money for the trip and died three years later in 1934.[42]

13.2 Post War Activism: Chief Deskaheh

The second Six Nations man to challenge the Canadian government was the Deputy Speaker of the Confederacy Council, Levi General, Chief Deskaheh. Similar to Loft, General was raised traditionally, but also received an English grammar school education.[43] By the eve of the First World War, many non-Six Nations outsiders considered General to be a model successful First Nations person.[44] General was also not afraid of acknowledging his mixed heritage as a descendent from Mary Jemison, an adopted white women; General himself married the daughter of a Cayuga mother and white father.[45]

General's political agitation against the Canadian government began during the war. He had actively fought conscription, leading a delegation to Ottawa to protest Six Nations inclusion in the *Military Service Act*, and creating Six Nations registration cards.[46] He even advised Six Nations people to refuse any assistance, including ration cards, from the Canadian government during the war.[47] Like Loft, General's major post-war contention was the

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[40] Belanger, 190 and Goodwill and Sluman, 136.

[41] Goodwill and Sluman, 136, Titley, 108, and Kulchyski, 110.

[42] Goodwill and Sluman, 136 and Smith, "Loft, Frederick Ogilvie".

[43] Akwesasne Notes eds., "Deskaheh: An Iroquois Patriot's Fight for International Recognition" in *Basic Call to Consciousness* (Summertown, Tennessee: First Nations Voices, 1981), 18.

[44] Akwesasne Notes, 18.

[45] Akwesasne Notes, 18.

[46] Akwesasne Notes, 19.

[47] Annemarie Anrod Shimony, *Conservatism Among the Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), 94.

amendment of the *Indian Act* to allow compulsory enfranchisement in 1920.[48] This amendment severed First Nations people from their communities and forced them to renounce their First Nations status and assimilate them into the Canadian state. To combat this, the Six Nations Confederacy Council agreed to send a delegation to King George V. After a vote, it was agreed that General, now speaker for the Council, would take their message to England.[49] Travelling under a Six Nations passport, since Duncan Campbell Scott ordered the Canadian Department of External Affairs to block their Canadian issued travel documents, General was unable to meet with King George who was out of town.[50] The Six Nations petition was then forwarded to the Secretary of State, Winston Churchill, who determined that the Six Nations case was an internal matter and forwarded the petition back to Canada.[51]

With their case's rejection, General returned home. The Six Nations then entered into negotiations with the Minister of the Interior, Charles Stewart, and Deputy Superintendent of the Department of Indian Affairs, Duncan Campbell Scott. Meeting at the Brantford YMCA in 1922, both sides debated various issues including land claims and self-government. Although *The Brantford Expositor's* reported these meetings showing positive results, behind the scenes, it was not so clear.[52] After a 4 December meeting in Brantford, the Six Nations delegation agreed to appoint seven constables to aid the Ontario police in controlling liquor on the Grand River Territory. Before the Six Nations delegation could sign this agreement,

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[48] Donald Smith, "Deskaheh" in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* vol. 15 (1921-1930) (http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/deskaheh_15E.html).

[49] Smith, "Deskaheh" and Akwesasne Notes, 19. For details about the vote, see Smith, "Deskaheh".

[50] Akwesasne Notes, 19 and Grace Li Xiu Woo, "Canada's Forgotten Founders: The Modern Significance of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Application for Membership in the League of Nations," in *Six Nations-Caledonia Reclamation Reader*, edited by Susan M. Hill (Brantford: Wilfrid Laurier University, 2006), 35.

[51] Woo, 36, Titley, 117, and Smith. According to Paul Williams and Curtis Nelson, "Kaswentha" in *For Seven Generations: An Information Legacy of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, CD-ROM, Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, 1997, the Six Nations petition was supposed to go to Winston Churchill as he was distantly related to the Six Nations through his great grandmother.

[52] "Hon. Charles Stewart, Minister of the Interior, Visits the Reserve," *The Brantford Expositor*, 15 May 1922, 1, "Indians to meet Minister," *The Brantford Expositor*, 28 October 1922, 2, "Indians Meeting," *The Brantford Expositor*, 1 December 1922, 6, "When Indians Conferred to the Hon. Charles Stewart," *The Brantford Expositor*, 7 December 1922, 9 and "Six Nations Council Accepts Minister's Offer of Commission to Inquire into Grievances," *The Brantford Expositor*, 8 January 1923, 1.

under the advice of Scott, Stewart ordered the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (R.C.M.P.) to raid the Territory in search of illegal liquor.[53] This was met with armed resistance which did not stop the R.C.M.P. from raiding General's house even though he was a known abstainer.[54]

Believing the good faith between the Six Nations and the Canadian government had been lost, on the advice of their lawyer George Decker, the Six Nations Council agreed to send General to Geneva, Switzerland, to petition the newly established League of Nations for nationhood status.[55] Using the league's charter and the Wilsonian doctrine of autonomy for small nations, Decker and General's petition for Six Nations nationhood received support from many other nations including the Netherlands, the Republic of Ireland, Persia, Panama, and Estonia.[56] General and Decker also printed their case in the pamphlet "The Red Man's Appeal for Justice." Submitted to the Secretary-General of the league, the appeal noted that the Six Nations had three objectives: the right to home rule, an accounting of all transactions made by the British and Canadian governments with the Six Nations Trust Fund, and freedom to travel across international water and boundaries.[57] This pressure on the British and Canadian governments to prove their case for non-Six Nations nationhood was embarrassing to both parties and in order to defeat it, both turned to less than ethical maneuvering.[58] The British put substantial pressure on the League of Nations and sponsoring nations to drop their support for the case, while in Canada, Scott and Stewart authorized a detachment of the R.C.M.P. to establish a post in Ohsweken, the main village within the Grand River Territory.[59] Although the eight man detachment claimed only to be serving warrants, patrolling for illegal alcohol, and evicting "squatters" from land set aside for

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[53] Woo, 36, Titley 199, and Smith, "Deskaheh".

[54] Akwesasne Notes, 19, Woo, 36, and Titley, 119.

[55] Smith, "Deskaheh".

[56] Woo, 30 and 31 and Akwesasne Notes, 21.

[57] Titley, 121.

[58] Woo, 30 and Akwesasne Notes, 21. See LAC, RG25-B-1-b, Vol. 191. file C 25/4 and RG13-A-2, Vol. 234, File 1919-718 for the international maneuvering by the Canadian and British governments and LAC, RG10, Vol. 3229, File 571,571, LAC, RG10, Vol. 2285, File 57, 169-1B, and LAC, RG10, Vol. 2285, File 57,169-1A Part 2 for the maneuvers perform ed by the Canadian State.

[59] Smith.

Soldier Settlement Act,[60] the Six Nations Confederacy Council opposed these actions and considered the R.C.M.P. to be a foreign military force that had invaded their Territory.[61]

For his part, Stewart, on Scott's advice, appointed a one-man commission to look into the affairs of Six Nations. On 1 March 1923, ex-commander of the 114th Battalion Col. Andrew Thompson to lead the commission and investigate the concerns advocated by General and Loft. The appointment of Thompson was not arbitrary. During the war, Thompson and Scott were close, with Thompson inviting Scott to camp with the 114th and even making Scott an honorary member of the battalion's mess.[62] Even local newspapers presented Thompson as a good choice, with *The Expositor* noting that Thompson and his family were well-connected to the Six Nations. Thompson's grandfather and father had fought with the Six Nations during the War of 1812 and the Fenian Raids, and Thompson himself was made an honourary chief of the Six Nations during the First World War.[63] What was not noted by *The Expositor*, however, was that Thompson was also the grandson of David Thompson of the Grand River Navigation Company, whose bankruptcy was illegally funded in large part through the Six Nations Trust Fund from 1831 to the company's foreclosure in the 1860s. This and other investments were part of a pending legal case against the British and Canadian governments about the misappropriation and improper investment of money from the Six Nations Trust Fund with a potential worth $160,000 in favor of the Six Nations Council.[64] Thompson's investigation continued from March to November 1923.[65]

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[60] Although noted as squatters by the R.C.M.P., the occupants had been given permission to occupy the land by the Six Nations Confederacy Council. For more on land allocations and the Soldier Settlement Program, see Evan J. Habkirk, "Militarism, Sovereignty and Nationalism: Six Nations and the First World War" (MA diss. Trent University, 2010), 144-146 and Susan M. Hill, 360 and 366.

[61] Six Nations Council Minutes, 16 January 1923, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1745, File 63-32.

[62] P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Katharine McGowen, "Competing Loyalties in a Complex Community: Enlisting the Six Nations in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," in *Aboriginal Peoples in the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives*, edited by P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Craig Leslie Mantle (Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007), 109.

[63] "Col. Andrew Thompson to Probe Affairs of the Six Nations," *The Brantford Expositor*, 12 September 1923, 17.

[64] Woo, 30. For more on the Six Nations protests against the Grand River Navigation Company see Bruce Emerson Hill, *The Grand River Navigation Company* (Brantford: Brant Historical Society, 1994), 19-26 and Susan M. Hill, 305-308.

[65] Letter to A.T. Thompson, 20 March 1923, Ruthven National Historic Site, Thompson Family Papers.

The response to Thompson's commission from the Six Nations Confederacy Council was clear. On the advice of their lawyer George Decker and Levi General, they were to "[h]ave nothing to do with Colonel Andrew T. Thompson or anyone else that the Canadian Government appoints as a member of a commission…If you do, you lose all chance for regaining your status as an independent nation."[66]

The Brantford Expositor reported on all the open sessions of the commission.[67] There were, however, many closed-door and undocumented sessions. There are also many other discrepancies that question the partisanship and validity of the commission. Aside from the reports in *The Expositor*, no notes of the testimony given at the commission's hearings were ever recorded.[68] Witnesses were also paid a $2 fee for their testimony.[69] The last shadow cast over Thompson's investigation is the fact he concluded his investigation on 1 October 1923, submitted his report to federal authorities on 22 November 1923, but the report was not made public until August 1924.[70] When questioned about this delay in the House of Commons in May 1924 by the representative for Haldimand County, Mr. Sinn, Charles Stewart responded that "[t]he report is in our hands…I shall be very glad to put the report at the disposal of my honourable friends, but for reasons that I do not care to disclose we do not desire to make public at the moment."[71] Why Stewart did not want to make the report public is not known. What is known is Thompson's report alleged the mismanagement of Six Nations affairs by the Confederacy Council, giving the federal government grounds for its replacement under the *Indian Act*.[72]

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[66] Levi General as quoted in "Deskaheh Warning the Six Nations," *The Brantford Expositor*, 28 April 1923, 1.

[67] See "Investigation in Full Swing Regarding the Six Nations Indians," *The Brantford Expositor*, 19 September 1923, 8, "Open Sessions are Resumed at the Indian Investigation," *The Brantford Expositor*, 25 September 1923, 14 and "Two Witnesses at the Inquiry Advocate Taxes on the Reserve," *The Brantford Expositor*, 27 September 1923, 5.

[68] The author has searched Library and Archives Canada, the Ontario archives, the Brant and Haldimand Historical Societies, and Ruthven National Historic Site and no hearing minutes have been found.

[69] Titley, 124

[70] Smith, "Deskaheh".

[71] House of Commons, Debates, Vol. 1, 14-15 George V, 1924 (Ottawa: F.A. Acland (King's Printer), 1924), 1642.

[72] John A. Noon, *Law and Government of the Grand River Iroquois* (New York: Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology (No. 12), 1949), 64.

The fears of General and the Six Nations Confederacy Council were soon realized. On 17 September 1924, the Prime Minister Mackenzie King and the Governor General, Lord Byng of Vimy, signed the order in Council to remove the Confederacy Council for an elected council as advocated by the *Indian Act*.[73] On 7 October 1924 *The Brantford Expositor* reported the replacement of the Confederacy Council by an elective council. With an armed R.C.M.P. guard, Six Nations Superintendent confiscated Six Nations' wampum belts, padlocked the Council House doors, and posted a notice outlawing the Confederacy government and announcing elections for the elected council.[74] Although only 10% of the people of the Grand River Territory voted in the elections, the Canadian government still acknowledged the elected council as the official form of government representing the people of the Grand River Territory.[75]

The political lobbying by the British and the disruption of the Six Nations government denied General and Decker the opportunity to present the Six Nations case at the League of Nations. General, however continued to advocate Six Nations' cause. General and Decker staged their own event in Geneva. Although heavily attended and reported on, no league officials attended the presentation.[76] Before leaving Geneva, General also wrote another petition to King George V denouncing the fact the Six Nations were not allowed to present their case to the league and their treatment at the hands of the Canadian government.[77] Not allowed to return to Canada and living in the United States, General continued to advocate Six Nations

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[73] Woo, 38.

[74] Tom Hill and Joanna Bedard, *Council Fire: A Resource Guide* (Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 1989), 25-26.

[75] "Council of Hereditary Chiefs of Six Nations is Abolished by Dominion," *The Brantford Expositor*, 20 August 1924, 1. The Confederacy Council still operates in Grand River Territory today. Although the Canadian government did acknowledge the Council's authority during the Caledonia land dispute, they still refuse to acknowledge the Council as the Territory's official governing body. See Theresa McCarthy, *In Divided Unity: Haudenosaunee Reclamation at Grand River* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016).

[76] Akwesasne Notes, 23.

[77] Titley, 123.

nationhood, including an address to the Six Nations and non-Six Nations audience via radio three months before his death.[78]

13.3 Post War Residential Schools

This return to their pre-war status as wards of the Canadian state can best be seen at the Mohawk Institute. Although many organizations were trying to rid themselves of the pre-war militarism directed at children, the exact opposite happened at the Mohawk Institute.[79] Although participating in events that highlighted their allied relationship with the British Crown, including singing for the Prince of Wales during his visit in 1919,[80] there were many reminders for the students of the institute that their place was as subjects in the British Empire. By the end of the 1920s, the Mohawk Institute was outfitted with Canadian army hand me downs including cots, bedding, kitchen utensils, and clothing. Many material items, like bedding and uniforms, became surplus materials that, with help of girls and sewing at the institute, were refitted into bedding, dresses and uniforms for the children.[81] Even Empire Day continued to be celebrated with Principal Sidney Rogers' 1923 report noting

> Empire Day was suitably observed. The IODE sent representatives to present a prize won by one of the pupils for general efficiency and after that an address on the Empire, by the Principal[,] the Victrola Record of the King's speech was played. One interesting feature of this ceremony was the manner in which every boy stiffened to attention as soon as the record commenced playing the National Anthem.[82]

The Brantford Independent Order of the Daughter of the Empire (I.O.D.E.) led the memorial work amongst the students of the Mohawk Institute. As a war memorial in the school, the

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[78] Akwesasne Notes, 26-28 and 32. For a detailed analysis of this speech, see Rick Monture, *We Share Our Matters: Two Centuries of Writing and Resistance at Six Nations of the Grand River* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2014), 118-132.

[79] "The Cadet Movement," The Great War Centenary Association Brantford, Brant County, and Six Nations (http://www.doingourbit.ca/cadets).

[80] Alison Elizabeth Norman, "Race, Gender and Colonialism: Public Life Among the Six Nations Grand River, 1899-1939" (Ph.D. Diss, University of Toronto, 2010), 166.

[81] Norman, 185.

[82] Sidney Roger as cited in Norman, 171-172.

Remembrance Chapter I.O.D.E. purchased the portrait "Canadian Foresters at Windsor Castle" for the students to see and remember the role many Six Nations men played during the war.[83] At the dedication ceremony, the children saluted the British flag and sang patriotic songs.[84] When the I.O.D.E. presented the Institute with a print of George Romney's 1776 portrait of Joseph Brant in 1926, students gave stories of Brant's life and sang patriotic songs at the dedication event.[85] The I.O.D.E. was also involved with organizing the Girl Guide program at the institute, with the Sarah Jeanette Duncan Chapter presenting the Guides their colours in 1924.[86] For the students of the Mohawk Institute, their routine and education returned with the same pre-war messages attached to it. They were trained to be subservient to non-First Nations people an emphasis on rejecting their own culture in favor of the Euro-Canadian way of life.

This was especially true during the dedication of the Mohawk Institute honour roll in 1925. Presided over by the Bishop of the Huron Diocese, the Right Rev. David Williams, instructed the students that the deeds of the older generation were "instrumental in the building of a better Canadian citizenship."[87] Outlining four reasons why the British entered the war, the bishop again gave advice to the students. According to Bishop Williams, the British entered the war because they had pledged their word to do so. In his summation, the bishop told the children "[i]t is of the primary importance that you keep your word than it is to save your life."[88] In his third and fourth reasons for the British to enter the war, the Bishop instructed the students that they were

> to defend and preserve the life of the empire itself. This was eminently worth while, as the British Commonwealth had done what no other nation, empire, or agency had done toward civilizing and Christianizing the world…Canada's life as a nation and as a constituent part of the empire was at stake. It is to your infinite credit and glory…that so many of your number took part in that great struggle against brute

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[83] Norman, 166.

[84] Norman, 167.

[85] Norman, 167.

[86] Norman, 168.

[87] "Memorial Unveiled at the Mohawk Church," *The Brantford Expositor*, 12 June 1925, 10.

[88] "Memorial Unveiled at the Mohawk Church," *The Brantford Expositor*, 12 June 1925, 10.

> force. Remember the record of your countrymen made in the Great War and try to live up to it.[89]

The bishop stated he hoped commemorative services "be conducted each year to keep alive in the hearts of the coming generation the remembrance of those who fought and the great ideas for which they had been willing. If need be, to give their all."[90] These lessons of obedience to the empire were further reinforced by the students singing "Onward Christian Soldiers", "Fight the Good Fight", and "On the Resurrection Morning" during the dedication.[91]

13.4 Post War Anthropology and Learned Societies

In many ways, the academic and anthropological worlds also returned to the ways their disciplines had previously framed Six Nations culture. Although the Six Nations were still willing to give out honourary chieftainships to non-Six Nations members who helped their causes, like Mayor of Brantford M.M. McBride for his work during the war and conscription crisis,[92] few people were willing to come to the aid of the Six Nations during their political turmoil of the 1920s. Again turning to the Ontario Historical Society in 1921, Secretary of the Six Nations Council, Asa R. Hill read a paper at the Society's annual conference entitled "The Historical Position of the Six Nations."[93] This paper, which was approved by the Six Nations Council, was to sway the society to "endorse and place itself on record as in favour of recognizing the rights of the Six Nations and that such encroachments as are being made, upon their conceded rights, by the Canadian Government are unwarranted and unjust."[94]

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[89] "Memorial Unveiled at the Mohawk Church," *The Brantford Expositor*, 12 June 1925, 10.

[90] "Memorial Unveiled at the Mohawk Church," *The Brantford Expositor*, 12 June 1925, 10.

[91] "Memorial Unveiled at the Mohawk Church," *The Brantford Expositor*, 12 June 1925, 10.

[92] Communication from Linda Robbins, City of Brantford Archives, 28 July 2008.

[93] Asa R. Hill "The Historical Position of the Six Nations," presented at the Annual Convention of the Ontario Historical Society, June 1921. This paper was also reprinted in *The Brantford Expositor* on 9 June 1921, 7 and reprinted in the *Papers and Record of the Ontario Historical Society* 19 (1922): 103-109.

[94] Six Nations Council Minutes, 7 June 1921, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1744, File 63-32 Part 13, Ironically, in the *Annual Report of the Ontario Historical Society, 1898* (Toronto: Warwick Brothers and Rutter, 1898), 29, when

Within the paper, Hill outlined the treaty and military relationship between the Six Nations and the British Crown from 1664 to the First World War.[95] Hill also reminded the society that although the Six Nations were a diminished power, their relationship with the British never changed; they never forgot their obligations to the crown, but were also not afraid to assert their rights as a sovereign nation under these agreements.[96] Although pleading for the help of the members of the society, with some members, like Augusta Gilkison, daughter of the ex-Six Nations Superintendent Jasper Gilkison, advocating the society take a stand on this issue, members of the society hid behind the apolitical nature of the group, ensuring this plea would fall on deaf ears.[97]

Others, like anthropologist Frank Speck worked alongside the Six Nations during the 1920s, but in some cases, seem to offer little assistance to the political issues facing them. Although coming to their aid in 1914 through 1920 over illegally sold wampum belts,[98] Speck, according to some accounts, did not help the Six Nations during General's troubles with the League of Nations. As noted by Haudenosaunee scholar Theresa McCarthy, General, his brother, and the Confederacy Council wrote Speck asking for help, but he did not seem to give it, other than reiterating what they had already told him about their traditional knowledge.[99] This position is countered by historian Siomonn Pulla who notes that Speck openly wrote against and criticized Thompson's report and the legality of the Department of Indian Affairs locking the Council House on religious grounds.[100] Speck's criticism of the department was so harsh, Duncan Campbell Scott had him blacklisted from working with any other First Nations groups in Canada, increasing the criticism over his work by fellow

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admitting the Six Nation into the Ontario Historical Society in 1898, they recognized Six Nations nationhood status by admitting six separate delegates from each of the Six Nations to sit as the representatives to the Society.

[95] Asa R. Hill, 104, 106, and 109.

[96] Asa R. Hill, 104 and 109.

[97] Michelle M. Hamilton, *Collections and Objections: Aboriginal Material Culture in Southern Ontario* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queens Press, 2010), 127.

[98] The belts in question would be returned to Six Nations in 1988.

[99] See Theresa McCarthy, *In Divided Unity: Haudenosaunee Reclamation at Grand River* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016), 159-164.

[100] Simon Pulla, ""Would you believe that, Dr. Speck?" Frank Speck and The Redman's Appeal for Justice," *Ethnohistory* 55, 2 (2008): 193.

anthropologists.[101] Some of this fight can be seen in the forward of his 1949 book, *The Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Longhouse*. In it Speck notes,

> what have the Iroquois to entitle them to be cited even as possessing and maintaining the rudiments of a civilization, or shall we better say culture? Would it be anything to assert that they have a logical understanding of such abstractions existing as the order of the universe, the rulings of land ownership, exploitation and conservation of recourses, ruling of conduct, respect for others' rights, a recognition of prestige, a system of economic social and economic cooperation in place of competition, belief in a future existence, in a Father-Creator, a profound sense of sympathy for women, children, and the aged, a conscious aversion toward theft in deceit in words, and intimate experience in the natural history of animals, plants, star-beings? Though they only possess many of the brutalities of simple-minded civilizations of magnitude – those so colossal as to be merely beyond control. Why should the professional ethnologist hesitate to say that his inferences through research do and will continue to offer the conventional conception of the Iroquois as a crude barbarian?[102]

Although coming to the defense of the Six Nations, by 1949, Speck had missed the opportunity to help the Six Nations as their nationhood was debated in the 1920s.

13.5 Six Nations Veterans

For First Nations veterans on both sides of the border, their post-war reality divided them into two groups: those who followed their traditional understandings of their place in the world and those who followed the colonial government's understanding of where they belonged within the state. Government officials, like Duncan Campbell Scott in Canada, and Cato Sells in the United States, believed that First Nations service in the First World War meant veterans were ready to take their place as a Canadian or U.S. citizen instead of being a government ward.[103] From 1920-1922, Scott saw his vision come to fruition with the passing of Bill 14 which granted the Department of Indian Affairs the ability to forcibly enfranchise First Nations veterans, separating them from their home communities. At Grand River, Six

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[101] Pulla, 195 and 196.

[102] Frank G. Speck, *Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Longhouse* (Ohsweken: Iroqrafts, 1987 [1949]), 166.

[103] Tom Holm, *Strong Heart Wounded Souls: First Nations American Veterans of the Vietnam War* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 99 and Vance, *Death So Noble*, 259 and 261.

Nations people protested this bill in the local press, with one Six Nations veteran noting that "[e]nfranchisement…is no reward for the services our men have offered to the British, much less compulsory enfranchisement."[104] The author concluded that "It will not make one lot of difference if enfranchisement be given to the good Indians a hundred times over, they will still remain Indians."[105] In another letter to the editor, another person thought compulsory enfranchisement was not a reward for First Nations service during the war, but instead it was a way to take away First Nations reserve land and give it to non-First Nations people.[106] By the end of the 1920-1921 year, forty heads of family, along with ninety other family members, were enfranchised from the Grand River community.[107]

Some veterans adopted Euro-Canadian/American farming. Encouraged through post-war assistance programs, First Nations veterans farmed individual plots of land, with Canadian First Nations veterans being able to do this through the Soldier Settlement Program.[108] By 1923, at least eighty Six Nations men were accepted by the program.[109] Like most post-war veterans programs, the Department of Indian Affairs administrated the Soldier Settlement Program, leaving many Six Nations veterans, like Wilfred Lickers, fighting for equal treatment within these programs. Upon returning home in 1919, Lickers applied to the Soldier Settlement Board for a loan of $1800.00. Lickers chose a plot of land beside his father's farm at Grand River.[110] Although this program purchased 20,000-30,000 settlement

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[104] "Six Nations Protest," *The Brantford Expositor*, 15 March 1920, 12.

[105] "Six Nations Protest," *The Brantford Expositor*, 15 March 1920. 12.

[106] "Indian Enfranchisement," *The Brantford Expositor*, 22 April 1920, 14. The *Oliver Act* allowed for the removal of First Nations Reserves that were nine miles away from a town or city with a population of ten thousand people or more.

[107] Scott R. Thevithick, Conflicting Outlooks: The Background to the 1924 Deposing of the Six Nations Hereditary Council (MA Thesis: University of Calgary, 1998), 87.

[108] Susan Applegate Krouse, *North American Indians in the Great War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 188 and Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers* (Picton, British Columbia: Theytus Books, 1985), 184. Not all First Nations applications for the soldier Settlement Program were granted. According to John Leonard Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy during the Inter-War Years 1918-1939* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1984), 39, by 1927, only 224 Soldier Settlement loans given to First Nations veterans. Taylor further suggests that after 1924, fewer Soldier Settlement packages were granted to First Nations veterans.

[109] Andrew T. Thompson's Report on the Six Nations, 1923, LAC, RG10, Vol. 3231, File 582,103, 30.

[110] Gordon J. Smith to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, 26 May 1920, LAC, RG10, Volume 7516, File 25,023-96.

farms for veterans,[111] First Nations veterans only made up 130 of the loans by 1920. Veterans from Grand River made up one-third of the loans.[112] From 1920-1923, Lickers had expanded his farm, cleared land and bought equipment, livestock, and buildings.[113] Due to crop failures and a barn fire in 1923, instead of making his usual $200 payment for the 1923-1924 year, Lickers only made a payment of $40. This trend of making partial or no payments on his loan continued into the 1930s.[114] Instead of seeing Lickers' lack of payments as part of a larger economic situation, Scott blamed Lickers, telling E.J. Sexsmith, the appointed soldier settler agricultural representative, to "point out to him [Lickers] that he must do better, and, if in your judgment, there is no prospect of improvement, you should recommend the cancellation of his loan and give to some other member the opportunity which Lickers does not appreciate" in 1927.[115] He further wrote to Lickers' himself stating: "[y]ou are not making a success of farming because you do not keep up with your work and do not do your seeding on time. The Department must insist on you using more energy on your work and also in making payments on your loan, otherwise, such action will have to be taken as will protect the interests of the Department."[116] In 1929, Scott, against the advice of Sexsmith, advocated cancelling Lickers' loan, stating, "[e]vidently this settler is not trying to make a success of farming and ignores all the attempts of the DIA to induce him to live up to his agreement, and it would seem that the time has arrived to cancel his loan."[117] Luckily, Lickers was able to keep his farm, paying off his loan in 1934.[118]

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[111] E.J. Ashton, "Soldier Land Settlement in Canada," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 39, 3 (May 1925): 496; Joseph Schull, *Veneration for Valour* (Ottawa: Veterans Affairs Canada, 1973), 23; and Jonathan Vance, "Aftermath," *The Beaver* 80, 5 (October/November 2000): 25.

[112] Taylor, 38. Gaffen, 184, states that by 1927, the number of Soldier Settlement loans given to First Nations veterans grew to 224 nationwide, with most of these loans were granted to First Nations veterans from Ontario.

[113] Gordon Smith to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, 26 May 1920, 12 and 23 January 1921 and Report of the Assistant Agriculture Supervisor to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, 16 May 1921, LAC, RG10, Vol. 7516, File 25,023-96.

[114] LAC, RG10, Vol. 7516, File 25,023-96.

[115] Duncan Campbell Scott to E.J Sexsmith, 25 February 1929, LAC, RG10, Vol. 7516, File 25,023-96.

[116] Duncan Campbell Scott to Wilfred Lickers, 14 January 1927, LAC, RG10, Vol. 7516, File 25,023-96.

[117] Duncan Campbell Scott to E.J Sexsmith, 22 October 1929, LAC, RG10, Vol. 7516, File 25,023-96.

[118] Deputy Superintendent General of the Department of Indian Affairs to Elliot Moses, 16 April 1936, LAC, RG10, Vol. 7516, File 25,023-96.

Other programs and veterans suffered under the department's administration. After meeting with a vocational officer from the Department of Soldier Civil Reestablishment in 1919,[119] Six Nations veterans were told that vocational training would only be given to veterans who were permanently disabled due to their wartime service.[120] Other programs, like the Last Post Fund continued to see the administrators of that program, veterans, and the Department of Indian Affairs haggling over the costs of caskets, burials, headstones, and other funeral costs of First Nations veterans from 1926 to 1928.[121] Since all First Nations people were considered to be wards, the department paid for First Nations burials, alongside a rough-cut casket. Wanting to mark all graves of veterans, the Last Post Fund provided better burial services and headstones for all veterans, a service the department did not provide.[122] In essence, the debate was whether First Nations veterans were considered veterans or wards by the federal government? If a First Nations soldier wanted the rights, privileges, and benefits of non-First Nations veterans' they had to enfranchise into the Canadian state.[123] As noted by historian Jonathan Vance, government officials hoped there would not be any minorities or racial divides in post-war Canada. Instead, all minorities should become Canadian.[124]

This debate would also rise about veterans' pensions. Being wards, the Department of Indian Affairs argued there should not be a distinction made between First Nations veterans and other First Nations pensioners as they could only give veterans the same pension as anybody else living within a reservation.[125] It further argued that there should be a distinction between the pension amounts given between First Nations and non-First Nations veterans as First Nations peoples did not have the same expenditures living on a reservation.[126] On this advice, the Department of Pensions and Health notified the Department of Indian Affairs that

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[119] Gordon J. Smith to Duncan Campbell Scott, 15 September 1919, LAC, RG10, Vol. 7504, File 25,023-1.

[120] Gaffen, 36.

[121] See Habkirk, 139-142.

[122] See LAC, RG10, Vol. 6771, File 452-37.

[123] James St. G. Walker, "Race and Recruitment in World War One: Enlistment of Visible Minorities in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *Canadian Historical Review* 70, 1 (1989): 24.

[124] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 245, 257, and 261.

[125] Deputy Superintendent General to Franklin Smoke, 17 November 1932, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6762, File 452-1.

[126] Deputy Superintendent General to R.E. Wodehouse, 23 November 1933, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6762, File 452-1.

veterans' pensions would only be issued to enfranchised First Nations people.[127] From 1932 to 1936, the issue of pensions would be debated between the department, First Nations, veterans associations, and other federal authorities. Due to public pressure, First Nations veterans received equal pensions as their non-First Nations counterparts in 1936.[128]

Because of these debates, pensions for First Nations veterans were hard to obtain. On 22 June 1921, mother of Six Nations veteran Claude Styres wrote to Six Nations Superintendent Smith about her son, a veteran of the 114th Battalion. She stated Styres "had lost all sense of right and honor…he has been steeling harnesses, grain, pork and other things and selling them for almost nothing to anyone who will give him money. He will not work, spends most of his time in bed, and is out wandering around all night." He even threatened to kill his brother, also a fellow veteran. Smith forwarded the letter to the Department of Indian Affairs asking if there was anything they or other agencies could do for this ex-soldier as many believed that his behaviour was a direct result of his wartime service.[129] The Director of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, R.S. Denning, dropped the case after he found they had offered rehabilitation courses to Styres, but he refused to take them. He further stated that "from the remarks made by Mr. Smith, it is quite apparent that it would have been a waste of time and money to attempt to train Styres for a useful occupation." He concluded that "his present state is not in any way due to his service in the C.E.F., I am afraid there is nothing this Department can do in the matter."[130] Mrs. Styres continued to fight for a pension and other services for her sons. During her testimony, at Col. Thompson's hearings in 1923, she stated that her two sons fought in the war and one of them had been seriously wounded, but both were unable to receive pensions.[131]

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[127] E.H. Scarmell to the Department of Pensions and National Health, 9 May 1932, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6762, File 452-1.

[128] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 259 and Gaffen, 37.

[129] Gordon J. Smith to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, 22 June 1921, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6776, File 452-133.

[130] R.S. Denning to J.D. McLean, no date, LAC, RG10, Vol. 6776, File 452-133.

[131] "Investigation in Full Swing Regarding the Six Nations Indians," *The Brantford Expositor*, 19 September 1923, 8.

Pensions were denied to other Six Nations veterans due to their First Nations status or because of racial bias. Pte. Angus Goodleaf petitioned for his pension in the 1930s, even writing his ex-commander, Andrew Thompson, to advocate on his behalf. Even with Thompson's help, Goodleaf's pension was denied in 1933 as he was a ward of the Crown living on the reserve. He received a Department of Indian Affairs, not a pension board, pension.[132] Pte. John Wabanosse's pension was also denied in 1919 and 1931. An Ojibwa veteran from Manitowaning, Ontario, Wabanosse suffered from respiratory problems that could not be determined if they were caused by the war or were a pre-existing condition. According to his service file, he was gassed at the battle of Vimy Ridge and Arras, causing extended hospital stays after both battles. At his pension board tribunal in 1931, however, his family's history of tuberculosis was brought into evidence and with the testimony of Dr. W.J. Dobbie, who testified that "Indian races [are] more susceptible to tuberculosis than other races." The tribunal voted against Wabanosse's pension.[133]

For First Nations veterans who were able to get a pension, their payouts were lower than the national average from 1918-1936. They were also subject to double scrutiny. As noted by historian Eric Story, after having to prove their disability to the pension board, First Nations veterans would also have to show they were capable of administering their pensions. Being wards, it was assumed that First Nations people could not possibly handle the responsibility of managing their pension funds. Granted a post-war pension of $5.00 a month for a gunshot wound he received to his lung in October 1918, Six Nations pensioner William Henry Johnson had his pension paid directly to him from his discharge to 1930, until it was noted that he was First Nations. In 1930, the local Indian agent advised that Johnson's pension be administered by him. Johnson appealed his situation during an investigation by the pension

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[132] Stephen Smith, "Wounded After Vimy, Kahnawake Veteran Found White Privilege Still Ruled Back Home," *CBC News* (http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/wounded-after-vimy-kahnawake-veteran-found-white-privilege-still-ruled-back-home-1.4071241).

[133] Eric Story, "The Wabanosse Hearing: An Indigenous Veteran Fighting for a Great War Pension," CanadianMilitiaryHistory.ca (http://canadianmilitaryhistory.ca/the-wabanosse-hearing-an-indigenous-veteran-fighting-for-a-great-war-pension). Story also notes that non-First Nations veterans suffering from raspatory problems due to being gassed were granted 100% disability pension.

board in 1939. After the pension board consulted with the Department of Indian Affairs, Johnson's pension was directly paid to him in 1939 until his death in 1950.[134]

Unique to Six Nations, however, was that the transition into post-war life was clouded by the Canadian government asking these veterans to choose between their community and the Canadian state; did they support the Six Nations Confederacy Council or an elected band council system of government? Although many written histories note that Six Nations veterans were the main group behind the change in government,[135] the membership between the groups that supported the Confederacy Council and those who advocated against the Council were fluid.[136] In a later analysis, anthropologist Sally M. Weaver stated that during the post-war years, most of the Six Nations' veteran population actually supported the Six Nations Confederacy Council.[137]

13.6 Six Nations War Memorials

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[134] Eric Story, "Indigenous Veterans, the Indian Act, and the Origins of National Aboriginal Veterans Day," ActiveHistory.ca (http://activehistory.ca/2018/03/indigenous-veterans-the-indian-act-and-the-origins-of-national-aboriginal-day/). The *Pension Act* of 1919 did allow for veteran's pension cheques to be administered on the pensioners behalf for reasons including not "maintaining the members of his family to whom he owes the duty of maintenance" or abuse of alcohol. Story notes however, that for First Nations veterans, their pensions were taken away without any proof of these vices.

[135] Noon, 64; Shimony, 91; G. Elmore Reaman, *The Trial of the Iroquois* (Toronto: Peter Martin and Associates Limited, 1967), 83; Sally M. Weaver, "The Iroquois: The Grand River Reserve, 1875-1945," in *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations*, edited by Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994), 247 and 248; John Moses "The Return of the First Nations: Six Nations Veterans and Political Change at the Grand River Reserve, 1917-1924," in *Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives*, edited P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Craig Leslie Mantle (Kingston: Canadian Defense Academy Press, 2007), 117 and 121 and John Moses, "Political Change at the Grand River Reserve, 1917-1924," *Canadian Historical Association Bulletin* 32, 3 (2006), 11. These studies base their findings on various petitions beginning with one signed by 57 Six Nations soldiers in the 107th Battalion in 1917. Two more petitions were sent to the Federal government in 1919 advocating for an elected council with the first being sent by Six Nations veterans, but only signed by 32 men. The second petition was sent to the Federal government by the families of Six Nations soldiers, which was signed by 160 people. Not representing the majority of veterans or the Six Nations community, the Department of Indian Affairs did nothing to change the form of government of the Six Nations. See Petition from Six Nations War Veterans to Duncan Campbell Scott, 1 September 1919, LAC, RG10, Vol. 7930, File 32-32 and Thevithick, 62.

[136] Sally M. Weaver, *Medicine and Politics Among the Grand River Iroquois* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1972), 31 and Sally M. Weaver, *Politics of Confrontation* (Unpublished manuscript housed at the Woodland Cultural Centre in Brantford, Ontario), 420.

[137] Weaver, *Politics of Confrontation*, 425.

Upon returning home, First Nations veterans were looking for their place in post-war society. Told they were too First Nations to be considered veterans,[138] many veterans were confused as to what their new roles in their communities would be, turning to each other for support. This can best be seen by memorials. As seen in the dedication of the Six Nations Honour roll in 1919 by the Prince of Wales, memorials brought the community and veterans together to celebrate and commemorate their veterans. Memorializing their military participation on behalf of the British Crown, a British cannon was given to the Grand River community sometime before 1911. Following this idea, ex-Captain in the 37th Haldimand Rifles and Chief J.S. Johnson, wrote Duncan Campbell Scott in December 1918 for a war trophy for Six Nations men who served in the war. By July 1920, the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory were given two machine guns and a trench mortar as their memorial for the First World War. They were placed in a park in Ohsweken.[139] In June 1919, a Honour Shield for the "Mad 4th" Battalion was created as part of a general reception held for their veterans, and to honour the early Six Nations enlistees of the war.[140] Making this a memorial about the Six Nations military service on behalf of the British Crown, the shield depicted the crest of the 4th Battalion alongside "the Six Nations coat of arms, the George III coat of arms…and two inlaid shields with the colors of the Fourth, blue, green and red, and the colors of the Iroquois, crimson and black."

In Brantford and in communities surrounding the Grand River Territory, committees also met to discuss memorials and how they wanted to remember the war. In the meeting minutes of the Brant War Memorial committee, it is clear they wanted their memorial to reference the unity of the Brantford, Brant County, and Six Nations war effort.[141] In a demonstration of unity, the Brantford War Memorial Committee still inscribed the Six Nations honour roll on the memorial alongside those of the fallen from Brantford and Brant County, even after the Six Nations Confederacy Council declined to give money for the erection of the memorial as

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[138] Britten, 165.

[139] LAC, RG10, Vol. 3094, File 2918,610.

[140] "Honour Shield for Indians of 'Mad Fourth'," *The Brantford Expositor*, 18 June 1919, 6.

[141] Minutes of the Public Meeting in Reference to a War Memorial, 27 January 1921, 3, City of Brantford Archives.

they were beginning plans to create their own.[142] In 1933, the Brant County War Memorial was officially dedicated.

Although discussions took place in 1919 and again in 1921 to erect their own war memorial, further discussion about a memorial was not raised until 1924.[143] The Six Nations Confederacy Council did appoint a member to sit on the Six Nations Veterans Association's memorial committee during its last recorded meeting before was outlawed by the Canadian government. It is unknown if the Six Nations Confederacy Council had any more to do with this committee. On 12 November 1933, the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory unveiled their war memorial in Veterans' Park in Ohsweken, bringing together the members, veterans, and noted dignitaries of the Six Nations and non-Six Nations communities including Brantford Mayor M.M. MacBride and ex-commander of the 114th Battalion Col. Andrew Thompson, and various military units and veterans' organizations that surrounded the Grand River Territory. In his address to the audience, veteran William Powless noted that Six Nations participation in the War was predicated on their ancestors' loyalty to the British Crown. Powless further stated that when the need arose, Six Nations people "sacrificed all – home, country, and even life itself -- that the Empire might endure."[144] Powless continued,

> We only did our duty…and all expected and all we hoped for was that we be accorded equal treatment with our white comrades, but this, my friends, has been

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[142] Six Nations Council Minutes, 1 February 1921, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1744, File 63-32 Part 13 and Minutes of the Public Meeting in Reference to a War Memorial, 17 February 1921, 1, Geoffrey Moyer Files, Private Collection. The decision to include the names of Brantford, Brant County, and Six Nations war dead on the Brant County cenotaph was decided before designs for a cenotaph were even approved. See letter from W.J. Cockshutt to W.S. Allward, 20 March 1923, Geoffrey Moyer Files, Private Collection. In 1927, after the removal of the Confederacy Council in 1924, the elected band council gave a donation of $500 to the Memorial Association. See Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Brant War Memorial Association, 12 September 1927, Geoffrey Moyer Files, Private Collection. Other veterans from the Grand River Territory may also appear on the war memorials of other towns surrounding the Territory. For instance, the town of Hagersville's War Memorial has the names of three Grand River Territory veterans as they were residing in Hagersville at the time of their enlistment as can be seen in *Roots and Branches: A History of Hagersville* (Hagersville: Haldimand Press, 1972 and the military service files for David Goosy, Peter Groat, and Maxwell Tobicoe, Library and Archives Canada (http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B3641-S043, http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=B3852-S048, and http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=9710-30 respectively).

[143] Six Nations Council Minutes, 5 August 1924, LAC, RG10, Vol. 1746, File 63-32 Part 17.

[144] Souvenir of the Unveiling of the Six Nations and Mississaugas Indian War Memorial, 12 November 1933, Woodland Cultural Centre.

> denied us. Relief to destitute Indian low pensioners has been denied to them. The benefits of the Last Post Fund has been entirety withdrawn and only recently legislation has been enacted that threatens the breaking of our beloved Reservation that was brought and paid for by the very lifeblood of our loyal forebears. All we can do is to prey to the Great White Spirit, who rules over the destinies of this great Dominion, to instill into the heart of her legislators a desire to accord the Indians of Canada that fairness of treatment, that we feel we have every right to expect, so that we may be able to stand loyally side by side with our white comrades in the task of developing this greatest and most glorious country in the world.[145]

Aside from uniting as a community unto themselves, some Six Nations veterans returned to the traditional practices of their people. In many ways, the First World War fractured the traditional ways Six Nations people treated their people returning from war. With the piecemeal process of discharging soldiers from the Canadian forces, Six Nations veterans, as they had in previous war, did not return en masse. Instead, veterans returned individually to the community and were met by family who welcomed the veteran home.[146] In many First Nations cultures, to return home individually and not en masse was a sign of defeat, not of victory.[147] Further, this system of discharging First Nations soldiers meant the veterans could not be met by their traditional knowledge holders at the village edge and go through the process of leaving the negative energy of war outside the village.[148] Also, unlike their American counterparts, Canadian officials did not give relatives the options of repatriating their loved one's body if they were killed in action.[149] All First World War dead were buried overseas in Commonwealth War Grave Commission cemeteries. To be buried in a foreign country is considered punishment for past sins or an evil life in traditional Six Nations culture.[150] Both Christian and traditional Six Nations people believe the body of the dead should be returned home.[151] In her speech at the Warriors Conference in 1986, Mina

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[145] Souvenir of the Unveiling of the Six Nations and Mississaugas Indian war Memorial, 12 November 1933, Woodland Cultural Centre.

[146] Holm, 170 and Mina Burnham, Warrior's Symposium, held at the Woodland Cultural Centre, 13 November 1986, tape one.

[147] Holm, 170.

[148] Holm, 170 and Williams and Nelson.

[149] Mina Burnham, Warrior's Symposium, held at the Woodland Cultural Centre, 13 November 1986, tape one.

[150] Shimony, 234.

[151] Shimony, 234.

Burnham noted that both she and her mother have dreams in which her brother, a World War Two Veteran buried in Belgium, tells them he wants to come home.[152]

Many scholars have shown that returning veterans used traditional ideas and ceremonies to cope with their wartime experience.[153] This increase in traditional ceremonies was even noted by the US government, who tried to curtail their use in the post-war U.S.A.[154] As noted by historian Tom Holm, First World War veterans used these traditional ceremonies to reconnect to their communities, purge themselves of their "taint" of combat, and help them readjust to their civilian lives.[155] In post First World War First Nations society, the ceremonies performed by traditional knowledge holders for their veterans revived them.[156] In many ways, participation in ceremonies and community events enabled veterans to be seen by the community as more than mentally or physically wounded people. They created a space for the veteran to recount their stories and, in some cases, put the veteran in a place of prominence where they were honoured by the community.[157] By being accepted, veterans learned their new role in the community, giving them a renewed sense of purpose and sometimes heightening their political awareness and work within the community.[158] The return of their veterans changed First Nations communities, but did not fracture them or the people's connection to their traditional understandings.

This honouring continues today. On 11 August 2014, 165 people from the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte, the Mohawks of Wahta, Six Nations of the Grand River, and the neighbouring communities of Brantford and Brant County filled the auditorium at the Woodland Cultural Centre outside of Brantford, Ontario, for the opening of the exhibit "Veterans, Warriors and

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[152] Mina Burnham, Warrior's Symposium, held at the Woodland Cultural Centre, 13 November 1986, tape one.

[153] L. James Dempsey, *Warriors of the King: Prairie Indians in World War One* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1999), 55, 57, and 58; Eric Story, "'The Awakening Has Come': Canadian First Nations in the Great War Era, 1914-1932," *Canadian Military History* 24, 2 (2015): 23-25, and Holm, 101.

[154] Britten, 149.

[155] Holm, 19.

[156] Britten, 149.

[157] Holm, 190 and 191.

[158] Holm, 195 and Britten, 185.

Peacekeepers."[159] Curated by the Centre's Director Paula Whitlow, the exhibit commemorated individuals from the three First Nations communities who served during the First World War. During the opening ceremonies, Haudenosaunee scholar Amos Key sang a song that had been traditionally sung when the Grand River community sent their men to fight in the War of 1812 and again during the First World War, showing the inherent connection between the both conflicts for the Six Nations community. The exhibit served as another chance for the Six Nations community to educate a First Nations and non-First Nations audience to about how the Six Nations community viewed the First World War. With little history about the war, the exhibit instead focused on the personal items, names, and when possible, pictures of the over 450 men and women from the three Six Nations communities who served.[160] Making this an honouring of those who served, the opening of the exhibition included a twenty minute presentation where sixty-five descendants of the veterans received reproductions of the 114th "Brock's Rangers" Battalion flag in honour of their family member's wartime service, a symbol of the Six Nations/British alliance.[161]

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[159] Woodland Cultural Centre, "Veterans, Warriors, and Peacekeepers," *Wadrihwa* 28, 2-4 (Spring/Fall 2014): 1.

[160] Woodland Cultural Centre, "Veterans, Warriors, and Peacekeepers," 1.

[161] Woodland Cultural Centre, "114th Battalion Flag Presentation Ceremony," *Wadrihwa* 29, 2 (Winter 2015): 3 and "Veterans, Warriors, and Peacekeepers," 1.

Appendices

Appendix 1: City of Brantford's Condolence to the Chiefs of the Six Nations Regarding Cameron Brant

Brantford May 1, 1916

To the Chiefs of the Six Nations Indians in Council, and the near relatives of the late Lieut. C.D. Brant:

We in common with the rest of our province have been deeply touched by the falling in battle of Lieut. Cameron D. Brant, the direct lineal descendant of your illustrious chief, whose name is so highly esteemed and honored throughout our country. In his fall, and in the fall of others with him, we recognize the willing sacrifice of our Indian compatriots in the defense of rights and liberties dear to every British heart.

We desire to express our appreciation of the splendid contribution the Indians have made and will continue to make to the fighting forces of our Empire.

Be assured that such nobility of purpose and sacrifice of life will go far to further cement the many units of our citizenship into one great united front in defense of King and Country.

We wish through you to extend sympathy to other homes in like manner saddened, and to commend all who may be called upon to suffer, to the loving care of the Great Spirit, Our Father in Heaven.

Signed by the Warden of the county, His Honor Judge Hardy, county members of parliament, militia, sheriff, mayor of the city, president of Ministerial Alliance, president of Patriotic and War Relief Association, president of Social Service League, press representatives, and a representative from the Women's societies of North and South Brant and the City of Brantford.[162]

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[162] Taken from "Memorial to Lieut. Brant," *The Brantford Expositor*, 7 May 1915, 7.

Appendix 2: The Six Nations Confederacy Council's Condolence for Lord Kitchener

Six Nations Council Chambers

To His Most Excellent Majesty,
George V., King and Emperor

May it please Your Imperial Majesty:

We the Chiefs of the Six Nations in Council assembled having heard with the most profound regret and sorrow of the very dark cloud of calamity that has been overcast through Your Majesty's Dominions by the shocking report that your Majesty's Great and Trusted War Chief Earl Kitchener had become one of the many victims of the most cruel war the world has ever known.

The Chiefs however, are comforted by the knowledge that "The Great Spirit moves in a mysterious way, His unlooked for wonders to perform," that He makes no mistakes and that He will yet over-rule this lamentable event for the ultimate success of Your Majesty's Righteous Cause; somehow it may be that He was Just the man for the hour, they know not, but He knows.

The Chiefs of the Six Nations condole with their Great War Chief Onondiye in this dark hour of the Empires' bereavement and beg to remain,

Your Majesty's Loyal Allies,

Chief Abram Lewis, Mohawk
Chief Isaac, Seneca
Chief John, Onondaga
David Jamieson, Cayuga
Peter Clause, Oneida
Richard Hill, Tuscarora[163]

[163] Taken from "Six Nations Condolence of Lord Kitchener," *The Brantford Expositor,* 10 June 1916, 11.

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2017 *The Art of Communication: The Unveiling of the Bell Memorial Revisited*. Edited by Evan J. Habkirk and Mary Beth Start. Bell Homestead National Historic Site.

Book Chapters

2017 "First Nations and the Home Front: Case Study of the Grand River Six Nations." In *Behind the Lines: Canada's Home Front during the First and Second World Wars*. Edited by Catherine Elliot Shaw. London, Ontario: McIntosh Art Gallery. Co-authored with Helen Gregory.

"Canada's First Nations and the Anglo-Boer War." In *Empire from the Margins: Religious Minorities in Canada and the South African War 1899-1902*. Edited by Gordon L. Heath. Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications for McMaster Divinity College.

Guest Edited Journals

2017 *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 30, 2 (Special issue on Health and the Canadian Residential School System). Edited by Evan J. Habkirk and Janice Forsyth (Peer Reviewed).

Articles

2017 "From Indian Boys to Canadian Men? The Use of Cadet Drill in the Canadian Indian Residential School System." *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 30, 2 (2017): 227-248 (Peer Reviewed).

"Reflections on Health and the Body in Canadian Indian Residential Schools." *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 30, 2 (2017): 143-145. Co-authored with Janice Forsyth (Peer Reviewed).

"Sights of Order: Displays of Physical Culture at Canadian Indian Residential Schools." *ActiveHistory.ca*. Co-authored with Janice Forsyth (http://activehistory.ca/papers/truth-reconciliation-and-the-politics-of-the-body-in-indian-residential-school-history/) (Peer Reviewed).

"Exploring the Clash of Official and Vernacular Memory: The Great War in Brantford, Brant County, and Six Nations" *ActiveHistory.ca*. Co-authored with Peter Farrugia. (http://activehistory.ca/2016/01/exploring-the-clash-of-official-and-vernacular-memory-the-great-war-in-brantford-brant-country-and-six-nations/).

TEACHING

Taught Undergraduate Courses

2016 – 2018 History 2209/First Nations Studies 2901: First Nations in Canadian History (Fall and Winter Terms), University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario.

Guest Lectures

2012 – 2017 I have written and delivered 25 guest lectures for various courses at the university level.

Teaching Assistantships

2011 – 2015 Teaching Assistant to Dr. Susan M. Hill (First Nations Studies 2901E/History 2209E: First Nations in Canadian History), University of Western Ontario.

2008 – 2009 Teaching Assistant to Dr. Davina Bhandar (Canadian Studies 1000: Producing Canada), Trent University.

2007 – 2008 Teaching Assistant to Dr. John S. Milloy (Canadian Studies/Indigenous Studies/History 2255: History of Indians in Canada), Trent University.

WORK EXPERIENCE AND RESEARCH AFFILIATIONS/ACCREDITATIONS

2011 – Present Member of the Community Outreach Committee, Bell Homestead National Historic Site.

2011 – Present Great War Centenary Association Brantford – Brant County – Six Nations (www.doingourbit.ca).
- Founding Board Member
- Website Co-Editor
- Co-Chair: Six Nations Sub-Committee
- Vice-Chair: Education Sub-Committee

2012 – Present Head Archival Administrator and Senior Graduate Research Assistant to Dr. Regna Darnell (Franz Boas Papers Documentary Edition), University of Western Ontario.

2012 – Present Senior Graduate Research Assistant to Dr. Janice Forsyth (More than Sports and Games: Physical Culture at Indian Residential Schools and Aboriginal Conceptions of Health), University of Western Ontario.

2013 – 2016 Supervisor of the First Nations Studies Program Library, University of Western Ontario.

2012 – 2017 I have written and delivered 53 talks and presentations for various academic and professional organizations in Canada, the United States, and Australia.
- 14 Invited Presentations
- 30 Conference Papers and Presentations
- 4 Public Lectures
- 3 Round Tables
- 2 Workshops

2017 – 2018 Member at Large, Canadian Society of Church History.

2016 Graduated from the Institute for the Editing of Historical Documents, held by the United States Archives (National Historical Publications and Records Commission) and the Association for Documentary Editing, New Orleans, Louisiana, 31 July-4 August 2016.

2015 Co-Organizer of the **"**Will the Real Franz Boas Please Stand Up?" Editor's Training Session and Symposium, London, Ontario, 1-2 October, 2015.

2011 - 2012 Research Consultant for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on Residential Schools (Canada).

2011 Research Consultant to Dr. Susan M. Hill and Mr. Richard W. Hill Sr. (Six Nations Veterans of the War of 1812), University of Western Ontario and the Indigenous Knowledge Centre at Six Nations Polytechnic.